

PSF- OSS October 1944 III

Box 169

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

**SECRET**  
DECLASSIFIED

21 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe that the enclosed memorandum would  
be of interest to the President. Would you please see  
that it is called to his attention.

Sincerely,

*Bill*  
William J. Donovan  
Director

Enclosure

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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23 October 1944

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E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

CIA 007622

By *ABJ*

Date MAY 1 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will be interested in the following report dated 30 August 1944 which was received from the OSS representative in London.

SEMI-OFFICIAL FRENCH VIEWS ON THE TREATMENT  
OF GERMANY

The views expressed below are, except where otherwise stated, those of M. Maurice Dejean, ministre de France aupres des Gouvernements Allies. It is believed that in most cases these views would be approved by the FCNL, although it cannot be stated that they are a complete and official statement of its position. These views were obtained in an interview with M. Tony Meyer, who is working on German questions for M. Dejean.

1. Frontiers. France recognizes the frontiers as of 1 January 1933. She will insist on an international control, primarily economic, of the Rhineland and the Ruhr. She has no desire to annex German territory, except perhaps the Saar and (even more doubtful) a strip of the left bank of the Rhine below Strasbourg. (This strip was not identified in the inter-

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view).

2. Dismemberment. France opposes the dismemberment of Germany. The economic disintegration or ecartelement of Germany is desirable, but territorial dismemberment would only lead to a great drive by Germany for unity and territorial claims, which would disturb the peace.

3. Occupation. France favors a long occupation of Germany in which she would, of course, take part. One cannot at this stage set forth the exact length of the proposed occupation, but one would think in terms of five to ten years.

There should be three international bases from which the Allied Nations could launch immediate air attacks and other punitive expeditions against any German attempt to violate armistice or peace terms. These bases are Pomerania, Silesia, and Westphalia.

4. Economic Disarmament. The guiding principle should be economic decentralization of Germany. The production of war materials should be stopped, as should part of the chemical industry; and other phases of industry should be controlled. Germany's coal supply should be enormously reduced. The control of the Westphalian region would involve the bulk of German coal (134,000,000 tons out of a total production of 186,000,000 tons).

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Germany would lose another 31,000,000 tons of coal if Silesia were taken from her. In this policy of decentraliser l'industrie allemande et l'orienter vers la peripherie, for example, some parts of the chemical industry which employ few workers might even be moved out of Germany into France or Czechoslovakia.

The German standard of living should be kept quite high, however, To lower it very much would be to threaten European peace.

5. Reparations. The word should be avoided. Germany should make restitution for her spoilation, that is, restore the loot she has carried off.

The question of forced labor has not really been studied yet. It seems unlikely that France will want forced labor; for one thing, French workmen might feel that they are losing jobs because of this policy. Perhaps some Germans might be forced to work on such jobs as the building of roads, but this is not likely.

6. Financial Control. Germany must be under strict financial control. The tricks by which rearmament expenses were hidden before the present war must be prevented. The German budget and its internal and external credits should

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accordingly be closely watched and regulated.

7. Possible difference of opinion in France. There are no advocates of a soft policy towards Germany among the French.

*J. Donovan*  
William J. Donovan  
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

23 October 1944

RECEIVED  
U. S. DEPT. OF WAR  
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
Date MAY 1 1974

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see  
that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*WJ*

William J. Donovan  
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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23 October 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

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E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

CIA 007628

By *ABJ*

Date MAY 1 1974

I believe you will be interested in a summary of a report which was prepared by Ignatio Silone, a prominent Socialist leader who has just returned to Italy. This summary which was forwarded to us by our representative in Caserta, reads as follows:

"1. The Allies are showing themselves incapable of establishing free and peaceful democracies in Europe.

"2. Roosevelt statement reapplication of anti-trust measures to I. G. Farben is ray of light midst confused and contradictory policy. Press has given little publicity to it.

"3. Democratic European revolution must be given aim. This does not mean radical and total form of Socialism but series of structural changes analagous to Roosevelt anti-trust measure.

"4. American representatives in Europe for democracy, trusts, republican governments, monarchical restorations, Catholic clergy. Result will be chaos

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and birth of future Hitlers.

"5. Swiss and Italian Socialists will insist British Labor Party call conference of all western European Socialist parties to confront public with problem of democratic revolution in Europe.

"6. Fate of democracy in Italy bound in labor movement. If movement falls mainly in Communist hands, hopes for political democracy will vanish.

"7. Fusion of Socialists and Communists would imperil hope of democratic regime. Danger of fusion has now faded.

"8. Work and bread to masses indispensable. Freedom propaganda to homeless, starving men ironical. Allied relief not best solution to elementary needs. Italians must be given legal possibility to help themselves.

"9. Promote before elections and formation of constituent assembly, widespread administrative autonomy of different regions. Future democratic state will then arise built by political class with capacity for local government."

*W. J. Donovan*  
William J. Donovan  
Director

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**OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

23 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see that  
it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

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**OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

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23 October 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

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E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)  
CIA 007622  
By *ABJ* Date MAY 1 1974

I believe you will be interested in the following report which we have received from our representative in Cairo concerning the recent reorganization of the Egyptian Government:

"On the 8th of October at five in the afternoon, the King of Egypt dismissed Nahhas. At 5:30 p.m. the formation of a cabinet was entrusted to Mahir. The people were relieved and happy that the incident was accompanied by no commotion and no tears. Makram was released at once by Mahir.

"Nahhas fell because he put pressure on the British to repay Egypt for her services to Britain. The repayment was to include the Sudan. The King appears to have made a trade with Killearn in which a less stringent control of Egypt would be accorded in exchange for dropping the Sudan claims. On the 3rd of last month Nahhas told the King he would resign, but the King agreed with the British that prior to the conclusion of the

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Arab Unity talks the resignation would not be accepted.  
Killearn departed for South Africa on an 'extended  
vacation' on September 12.

"The new Cabinet is constituted as follows:

Premier and Minister of the Interior: Mahir, SA Dist.  
President.

Public Works: Ghalib, Sa'dist.

Education and Social Affairs: Haykal, Liberal Consti-  
tution President.

Public Health: Hadi, Sa'dist.

Supply: Siba'i, Ind. Wafdist.

National Defense: Salim, Ind. Wafdist.

Agriculture: Ghaffar, Lib. Constitution.

Finance: Makram, Ind. Wafdist Pres.

Justice: Ramadan, Nationalist Pres.

Commerce and Industry: Hana, Ind. Wafdist.

Civilian Defense - discontinued

Foreign Affairs: Nuqrashi, Sa'dist.

Waqfs: Raziq, Lib. Const.

"There is no evidence of feeling against the British  
or other foreigners. On the 9th of this month Mahir said

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that the British were cooperating in carrying out the treaty obligations and postwar demands on Britain were not mentioned. The situation is considered as a purely internal Egyptian affair by the British press, which shows that the disposition of the whole affair was determined ahead of time.

"The support of the cabinet by the Royal House should be of benefit to the USA. The Palace believes that America and other foreign powers provide a check against the British, and Haykal is extremely friendly towards the United States.

"Siba'i, the Minister of Supply, is a Makram protege, and since Supply is closely related to Finance, Madram will probably help him.

"Promotions under the old regime are being investigated.

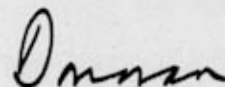
"Government cooperation with the press regarding censorship has been promised by Mahir. The old Director of Censorship, Qabbani, is on an indefinite leave of absence. Until the war is over martial law is to continue.

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"On the 12th of this month Mahir said the people were not represented by the Chamber of Deputies. People expect that it will be dissolved, and that there will be no elections."



William J. Donovan  
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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24 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see that  
it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*WJ*

William J. Donovan  
Director

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*O.S.S. folder 5-44*

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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24 October 1944

*PSF*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will find of interest the following report which we have just received from our representative in Caserta concerning plans for the formation of a new Italian Government:

"1. Plans for formation new government are being contemplated. A meeting was held on the morning of October 21 at the home of Badoglio attended by General Infante, Dallora, Salvarezza, Maiocco, Cambareri and Salazar.

"2. Cambareri was authorized see Stone of ACC and present list of new government. If he approves or refuses to make decision the Prince is ready to ask Bonomi resignation and place Soleri as new Prime Minister.

"3. A meeting was held on the afternoon of October 21 at headquarters Unione Proletaria attended by representatives of 11 dissident parties. British officials listened to proceedings from adjoining room.

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CIA 009622

by

*1053*

Date MAY 1 1974

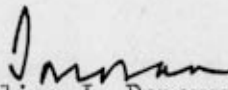
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"4. British have approved plans and candidates for new government. No United States officials were present at these meetings.

"5. New government plans include the following:  
Prime Minister, Soleri; War, Dellora; Foreign Affairs, Badoglio; Justice, Pertini; Interior, Salvarezza; Commerce, Cambareri; Railroads, Tullio; Navy, Da Zara; Education, Maiocco; Public Works, Micheli; Propaganda, Modigliani; Postal Telegraph, Fano; Finance, Einaudi. However, all candidates not consulted."

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

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PSF; O.S.S. folder 5-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

*file*

24 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I think the President would like to have  
the Hitler stamp and a copy of the Frankfurter  
Zeitung which are enclosed. Will you kindly see  
that he receives them.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

William J. Donovan  
Director

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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25 October 1944

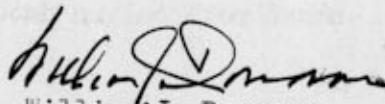
Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see that  
it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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25 October 1944

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E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

CIA 007622

By *APJ*

Date MAY 1 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

We have just received two additional reports from our representative in Caserta concerning the disturbances in Palermo mentioned in our previous memoranda.

The first of these reports dated 23 October 1944 reads as follows:

"1. Half-dozen inquiries underway in Italian troops' use of grenades.

"2. Military, political, police, civil probes seeking to establish first bomb hurled from demonstrating crowd.

"3. Own eye-witnesses' reports keep confirming first and all grenades tossed by soldiers."

The second of these reports which was received on 24 October 1944 is a relay of a dispatch from Palermo to Caserta dated 21 October 1944.

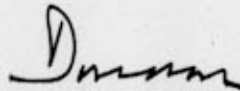
"The official inquiry is on. Two independent sources, one of whom is Vincenzo Purpura, Regional Secretary of the Committee of Liberation, separately

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accuse Separatists of being behind the massacre in Palermo. Corroborative evidence and statement tend to prove official claim that the first grenade was thrown from crowd at Italian army truck and that soldiers spontaneously retaliated in kind plus auto gunfire in self defense. Newspaper in Palermo published story and editorial this morning. Tension high all day as 500 gamins roam through city. They threw three grenades at an Italian soldier, smashed show windows and ran wild unmolested, though armed with German potato mashers. No injuries. Although there is no confirmation, gamins are believed to be organized by Separatists. This as well as charge of two sources mentioned above should be viewed with caution."



William J. Donovan  
Director

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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*5-44*

25 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see  
that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

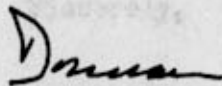
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**OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

25 October 1944

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

I am enclosing a most interesting report prepared by our representative in Bern, who has just returned to Switzerland after a week in France. This report gives his impressions of the situation in France at the present time.

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

Attachment

# OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE 23 October 1944

#229

FROM Berno

HBO

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

DEFERRED

TO

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

## DISTRIBUTION

(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

## RECEIVED IN PLAIN TEXT

### GENERAL

I have just returned after a week spent in France, and this brief report embodies not only my impressions but the opinions gleaned in France and here in Switzerland from persons in whose judgments I have confidence.

The general impression is one of apprehension. The crisis is in the offing in France, and no one knows whether or how it will break. The FFI may have been incorporated into the regular army on paper, but in fact they are still behaving as if they were a state within a state. The CNR is negotiating with the Provisional Government on almost equal terms. The high military official who was charged by de Gaulle with incorporating the FFI and disarming the elements which would not agree to being incorporated finds his task almost impossible of accomplishment under his existing instructions.

Apparently a new committee, known as the Comité d'Action Militaire (CAM), has just been set up to try to solve the FFI problem from another angle. The point of departure for this committee's work is that the FFI has a good deal of justification for its refusal to be incorporated purely and simply into the French African Army, which is today the only regular French army. The FFI regards itself as a part of the French Army of equal standing and entitled to equal status with the African army. The FFI feels that the African army is run by a clique of officers who have many of the faults that contributed to the 1940 collapse. They feel that the African army hopes to scatter and weaken the FFI by incorporating it into the regular army to get rid of the menace which the Resistance spirit represents for the military caste.

The CAM hopes that, by grouping representatives of the best FFI and African army elements, it will be able to work out an arrangement under which the FFI will keep its own individuality in the new French Army with the assent of the African army.



## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

## OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. No. 229

FROM Berne

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

RECEIVED

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The best FFI elements realize that the FFI contains many men who are political agitators rather than soldiers -- men who joined the FFI when the danger was over and who now want to use it for Communist or other political ends. These elements realize that the FFI aim, namely, equality of status, can only be attained if the FFI divests itself of these intruders, and they claim that a good deal of progress has already been made in that direction.

Whether the African army will be willing to meet the FFI's minimum demands is a question for the CAM to try to clear up. As long as doubt subsists, the danger of internal disturbances will be present.

There seems to be general agreement that France is not Communist. In fact, the Communists, a remarkably small minority, are greatly concerned to prevent their numerical weakness from coming to light. Hence, they insist on a united resistance front with one list at the February elections. They hope by strong-arm methods and intimidation to control this list. The other parties, especially the Socialists and the Radicals, are determined to resist this demand. The red is fading out of the old political parties, and the Socialists are now just a respectable left center group, and the Radicals have become practically conservative.

Interesting reports have reached me of the sinking circulation of the Communist papers in Paris and Lyon and of the acrobatic trick the Communists have resorted to in order to prevent their loss of power from being realized by public opinion. Unsold copies of Communist papers are quietly picked up by Communist agents and destroyed, so as not to remain too obviously on the shelves.

However, all observers agree in their warning not to underestimate the danger that the Communists will contrive to gain control when the elections come by using their technique of infiltration. They have won their victories the world over by tricks put on by small but determined minorities, and the very fact that they know that they are sliding will make them willing to take big risks. They know well that this coming Winter is a great opportunity. France is without transportation, practically without heat, without many of the important services, and without rapid intercommunication between the various parts of the country. This Winter may well be a harder one in France than even the four preceding Winters of German occupation. These next months are the great opportunity for the Communists. \*\*\* there are departments in the South where they have gained control and where the lawful administration is powerless. Here the Communists are well served by the lack of communications and transportation, the presence of scattered German forces, and contact with the Communists from Spain. At times, not long ago, the authority of the central French government did not effectively extend many kilometers from Paris. Recently, the situation has somewhat improved, and the \*\*\* on the whole is probably in the right direction; but all observers are not agreed on this.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. NO. 229

FROM Berne

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

RECEIVED

The unrest caused by the differences between the FFI and the African army, and by the difficulties between the CNR and the men from Algiers, is still acute. It is as yet by no means certain that the situation will settle down without open conflict. There is some reassurance in the fact that, although \*\*\* the first fortnight after the liberation, it was generally believed that there would be a showdown before the end of September, October is now nearly over, and the chances of an agreed solution seem to be at least as good as they were a couple of months ago.

As for General de Gaulle, personally, he keeps his own counsel and it is believed that he is now learning a good deal about the France of today that he never thoroughly understood when he was in London and Algiers, where he was kept in the dark by many of his advisers. When he came to France, he apparently thought that France was either Communist or was Clerical-Radical, and that the old bourgeois Socialist Party was finished once and for all. He had not been long in France, however, before he realized his mistake, and recent conversations which he has had with leaders of these bourgeois parties, and reports coming from these leaders indicate that his political enlightenment has made considerable progress.

On one point there appears to be complete unanimity, except in the ranks of the Communists. The Provisional Government of de Gaulle should be recognized by the United States, Great Britain and Russia at the earliest possible moment, in order that it may have the strength and prestige to cope more effectively with the manifold problems which it has to face. Even de Gaulle's personal and political opponents, insofar as they are true Frenchmen, are united on this point. Today they consider the failure to recognize de Gaulle as a slight, not to de Gaulle, but to France, and as such they resent it.

We find ourselves in a vicious circle. If we say that we will not recognize that government, until there has been a formal approval by vote of the French people, we may deprive the Provisional Government of the prestige and authority necessary to proceed to any such consultation under the conditions permitting a true popular expression of opinion. The Provisional Government, if not strengthened, may not be able to meet the determined threat of the Communist minority, and elections held by a partially discredited unrecognized government might well lead to a Communist victory. There cannot be any real doubt today that the Provisional Government is the only body which conceivably could exercise governmental authority in France, unless such authority is exercised by the Communists, or unless France slips into a condition of anarchy, which many serious-minded people fear.

The problem is no longer solely a political one; it has its serious military implications. If we are obliged to ensure necessary order along essential lines of communications by our own military forces, and if we cannot rely on orderly French administration, we will be forced to divert troops which can better be employed at the fighting front.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

25 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President may be interested  
in the attached memorandum. I shall be grateful if  
you could see that it reaches his desk.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

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*PSC*

**OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

25 October 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

**DECLASSIFIED**  
E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)  
CIA 007622  
By *WJZ* Date **MAY 1 1974**

I believe that you will find of interest the following report on the evacuation of American airmen from Bulgaria. It is based upon a statement by Major Walter A. Smith, Jr., of the 15th Air Force, who was the senior officer among the prisoners evacuated, and a report by Second Lieutenant Harry H. Harper, Jr., USMCR, who was the Chief of the OSS Advance Base in Sofia. This Base has now been withdrawn from Bulgaria at the request of Colonel Zaitsov, representative of the local Russian military commander, and subsequent developments have not yet resulted in its re-establishment. The following account of evacuation of American airmen indicates, however, the type of assistance which this Base was in a position to render.

At 1000 on 8 September, 335 Air Force prisoners at Shumen, Bulgaria, were informed by the Commandant of the prison that his government had decided to free all British and American prisoners of war. On the same morning Lieutenant Harper, having entered Bulgaria while that country was still at war

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with the United States, made his way to the headquarters of the Bulgarian Chief of Staff and immediately raised the question of the evacuation of the Allied aviators. He was informed that the prisoners had already been released, but were being held together at Shumen until plans for their evacuation could be perfected.

In order to obtain exact information on the number of prisoners and their condition, Lieutenant Harper requested that a ranking officer be sent by plane from Shumen to Sofia with this data. An order for this was given by telephone, in accordance with which Major Smith arrived at the Ministry of War, Sofia, at 0600 on 9 September.

Before his departure, Major Smith was informed by the Commandant of the prison that the balance of the prisoners would leave Shumen for Sofia by rail at 1300 on 9 September. Fearing complication from the rapid Russian advance and the possibility of German bombings, Major Smith tried to arrange for direct travel by rail to Turkey, but was told that the Ministry of War had ordered the men sent to Sofia. This order had been issued by the Ministry of War without consulting Lieutenant Harper.

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At the Ministry of War, Major Smith found great confusion, with 20 tanks and a number of soldiers guarding the building while demonstrations were being staged all around it. Making his way inside the building, Major Smith joined Lieutenant Harper in the office of the Chief of Staff. By strong protests against the airmen being transferred to Sofia, Lieutenant Harper arranged to have them rerouted to the Turkish frontier, via Stara Zangora and Svilengrad. By this time the prisoners' train had left Shumen, departing only a half hour before the Russians arrived. Although telephone and cable communications out of Sofia were cut in all directions, Lieutenant Harper finally located the train about 30 kilometers beyond Gorna Orekovitsa and had it turned back to Stara Zangora. The Sofia railway station was severely bombed on the morning of 10 September, about the time the aviators would have arrived.

After arrangements for the rerouting of the train had been completed, Major Smith and Lieutenant Harper learned through the Swiss Legation and the International Red Cross that there were seven other prisoners hospitalized in Sofia.

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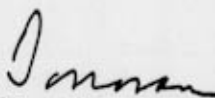
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It was arranged to send these men by train to join the others at Rakovski.

At 1500 on 9 September, Major Smith left by special plane for Svilengrad to make advance arrangements for his party. At 1700, Lieutenant Harper made his first radio contact with Istanbul, and a message giving all pertinent information about the prisoners was sent and received. At 1600 on 10 September the aviators crossed the Turkish frontier, where they were met by a party headed by Major Seager, the Assistant Military Attache at Istanbul.

There, in the words of Major Smith, the airmen "met with a grand reception, beer, dinner, etc., and from then on in, the farther we went, the better it got...."

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

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**OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

**RESTRICTED**

25 October 1944

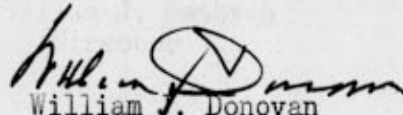
Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see  
that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

**RESTRICTED**

PSF: O.S.S. folder 5-44

**OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

25 October 1944

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

I believe you will be interested in the enclosed report from our representative in Bern concerning the efforts of the Nazis to prepare their people for a fight to the finish.

*W. J. Donovan*

William J. Donovan  
Director

Attachment

~~RECEIVED~~

# OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE 20 October 1944

#228

FROM Berne

HBO

PRIORITY

TO

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

ROUTINE

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### The German Volkssturm

Tribune de Geneve, October 19, writes: Himmler is now, more than ever, the master of Germany. As head inquisitioner, supreme head of the Gestapo and SS, and organizer of the new Volkssturm, he can do practically what he wants. The generals are relegated to the background. It may be that they are not entirely dissatisfied with the new development, as it will be possible for them, when worst comes to worst, to throw the blame for the defeat on the Nazi chieftains. The reaction of the masses of the people is another question. In order to back up this threat, Himmler must arm the entire German population and hide rifles, machine guns, and grenades in every house. He evidently counts on his police to prevent any unauthorized use of all these weapons, but he might be disagreeably surprised in case of a collapse.

There is no comparison between the resistance movement in France, Russia, and other German-occupied countries and the planned people's war in Germany. The German people know that this is a war of conquest. They have listened to countless promises which have never been fulfilled. They cannot take much stock in Himmler's statement that the Americans have had enough, and that the British are at the end of their resources. What will happen when the Allies come through the winter line now being constructed? What will the discouraged workers and peasants, who have been equipped with arms and ammunition, do when the SS tries to drag them to their death at the front? The answer will come from the German people.

Along these lines, the Nationalzeitung quotes Berlin circles as saying that one of the tasks of the Volkssturm would be to quell any riots started by the foreign workers in Germany. That is pretty earnest. The lives of 15,000,000 foreign workers are at stake. The tasks of the new people's army are fourfold: to counterbalance the regular army; to crush any opposition among the people; to keep down the foreign workers; and to conduct guerrilla warfare against the armies of invasion. The Nazis

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## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. No. 228

FROM Berne

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

RECEIVED

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are aware of the political risks of arming the whole people. The ruthless destruction of Germany factory cities, like Aachen, is the price which the Nazis intend to pay for the prolongation of a hopeless war.

Berlin correspondent of the Neue Zuercher Zeitung, October 20: For several weeks now, the Nazi Party has been preparing the people morally for total popular warfare with a view to strengthening its will to resist the invaders to the bitter end. Nothing has been left undone to inspire hatred and loathing and to stir up the fighting spirit, especially against the Anglo-Saxons. The man on the street in Germany wholly expects the worst in the way of suffering and misery -- plundering rape, and atrocities -- from the invading Red Army, but he does count on milder treatment at the hands of the British and Americans. It assumes that they will restore a strict but just regime. He still remembers the period of occupation of the last war, and refuses to believe that it will be much worse this time. He feels that his personal safety will be insured as long as he keeps quiet and is not a member of the Nazi Party. The German leaders do not like this attitude and are endeavoring constantly to persuade the people that the Anglo-Saxons are just as bad as the Russians. This is the leitmotif of many press articles.

The consequences of a collapse are painted in the blackest colors, as it is thought that this is the best way to awaken the last energy of the people. The Morgenthau plan report came in very handy in this campaign, and the press has been careful not to say anything about the opposition to that plan in America and elsewhere. So German leaders are led to believe that the project of the Secretary of the Treasury has the approval of Roosevelt and Churchill.

Recently a report was circulated that the Americans burned the town of Wallendorf, near Trier. This is taken as proof the Allies intend to carry out the Morgenthau plan to the last detail, to transform the whole land into a desert, to wipe out German villages, and lay waste the great cities. West German papers print daily reports of alleged mistreatment of Germans in the occupied zone, and the presence of Negro troops in Lorraine is taken as an indication that there will be a black shame as after the last war in the Rhineland.

Rene Baume writes in La Suisse, October 20: The advantage which Germany can expect from resistance to the end is not perceptible to the human mind. However, it is possible, because the Allies have facilitated the task of the German leaders by the insistence on unconditional surrender and the publishing of plans such as those of Mr. Morgenthau for the complete destruction of German industry. The idea of compelling

## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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228

Berne

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FROM

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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80,000,000 Germans to live on their sandy soil means condemning 40,000,000 to slow death. Under such circumstances, it is not difficult to call for a general levee en masse, and the Morgenthau plan has been Goebbels' best argument to justify super-total mobilization.

Goebbels' current article in Das Reich: The period of this extreme test of our people, which often threatens to exceed human possibility, will come to an end some day. It is only a question of two alternatives: whether we shall emerge from the war as a free nation, or whether we shall succumb to the power of our enemy. The latter eventuality could never be made good again (?) for the national sovereignty of \*\*\* which is the absolutely elementary condition of its future existence. It is perhaps well that there is no doubt as to the enemy's plans in the event of a German defeat. Even the timid and faint-hearted know perfectly well what will happen to them if they give in to their cowardice. It makes no difference whether the Bolsheviks destroy the Reich in their way, or the Anglo-Americans in another -- there is only a difference in the methods to be used. Both have the same objective, namely, to decimate the German people by thirty or forty million.

It is more for our children than for ourselves that we must carry on this war with all its moral and physical hardships until we try \*\*\* for our people and its future. Only cowardly and vacillating characters can even think of any other possibility in these terrible, bitter hours. There is no choice unless we want to sell our nation's honor and its very existence as an entity.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED **SECRET**

26 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe that the enclosed memorandum will be  
of interest to the President.

Will you please see that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED **SECRET**

O.S.S. folder  
3-44  
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PSE

26 October 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will be interested in the attached memorandum which the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia gave to one of our representatives in London for transmission to the State Department.

*Donovan*  
William J. Donovan  
Director

Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)  
CIA 807622  
By *ABJ* Date MAY 1 1974

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MEMORANDUM FROM PRIME MINISTER SUBASIC

As the result of Dr. Gavrilovic's mission in the Middle East and Italy, the Royal Yugoslav Government have decided to adopt the following measures:

1) Instructions will be sent immediately to the Army personnel in the Middle East and elsewhere ordering them to join up with the National Army of Liberation in one single front, in accordance with the terms of the Proclamation of His Majesty King Peter II, dated September 12, 1944. The terms of service will be those that have been agreed upon in the course of negotiations which Dr. Gavrilovic has had at Caserta and Vis, i.e. officers retain their present rank, same rate of pay and insignia as those existing in the National Liberation Army, and all ranks to be regarded as reinforcements.

2) The military personnel in the mentioned areas will as soon as possible be drafted into Italy and thence dispatched to Yugoslavia. Colonel Zupancic, officer in command of the Yugoslav Headquarters in Cairo, will be instructed to get at once in contact with Brigadier Hennessy, as agreed between Dr. Gavrilovic and General Paget, in order to fix up all the details regarding the execution of the above order as it affects the Yugoslav military personnel who are now stationed in these areas. Colonel Stropnik, officer in command of the

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Battalion in Palestine will be sent to Vis, as agreed by Marshal Tito in the course of his conversation with Dr. Gavrilovic, in order to discuss the modalities of their transfer to Yugoslavia and their final incorporation into the National Army of Liberation. The Royal Yugoslav Government undertake to provide with the necessary monthly allowances their wives and children who may now be in the Middle East or elsewhere outside the country.

3) Officers and men who may refuse to respond to His Majesty's Proclamation and who fail to join up with the National Army of Liberation for the purpose of taking part in the final stages of the liberation of their country will be demobilised and will assume the status of refugees. Negotiations will be entered into with General Paget and other competent British authorities in the Middle East with a view to making all the necessary arrangements for their establishment. It is presumed that the authority under whose charge the refugees are to be placed will be the U.N.R.R.A. office in Cairo. Sir William Mathews, the Director of this office will be approached formally on this point and it is hoped that he may be able to assume this charge, so as to facilitate the position which in this connection arises with the Egyptian Government. The

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Royal Yugoslav Government undertake to provide the necessary funds for the upkeep of the refugees and to allot to each refugee a small sum of money on the basis of regular monthly payment for out-of-pocket expenses. It is to be expected that those who assume the status of refugees as the result of their refusal to join up with the National Liberation Army and to take part in the final stages of the liberation of their country will not be allowed to return to Yugoslavia at the end of the war. It is to be presumed that their future disposal will be settled in accordance with the existing international practices governing cases of this kind.

4) Officers and men who belong to the category of "collaborationists" or who in a similar way are undesirable or objectionable will for the time being and for the purpose of their disposal at the present moment vis-a-vis the Allied authorities be treated in a similar manner. It is however in the intention of the Royal Yugoslav Government to introduce forthwith special legislation in order to establish their responsibility and to prepare the ground for any judicial proceedings which may in due course be decided upon through the normal constitutional processes after the liberation of the country.

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5) A certain number of officials belonging to the various branches of the administration of the Royal Yugoslav Government who are now in the Middle East and Mediterranean areas will be placed on retired list or discharged. The officials who are to be placed on the retired list will be pensioned off and their allowances will be paid to them out of the funds of the Royal Yugoslav Government. The necessary measures will be taken with the respective Governments for the purpose of securing for them the permits de sejour where they may be needed. The small number of officials who are to be discharged will be treated as refugees and the procedure as outlined here above under point 3 will be applied also to them. It is in the intention of the Royal Yugoslav Government to introduce forthwith special legislation concerning the responsibilities of the officials who have so far or who may in the future become involved in activities which are harmful or contrary to the national interests, on similar lines as that which is envisaged for officers and men belonging to the category of "collaborationists" etc. (see point 3). The officials who have been employed locally during the years of the emigration will be dispensed with unless otherwise decided and the Royal Yugoslav Government cannot undertake any responsibilities in their respect except those

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which are arising out of their employment contracts.

6) No illegal or impermissible activities of any kind on the part of Yugoslav citizens living in the Allied and Neutral countries will be tolerated and all the necessary measures will be taken in order to put a stop to any such proceedings. The Royal Yugoslav Government have already issued the strictest instructions to their Ambassador in Ankara for the purpose of dealing with the group in Turkey (Istanbul) who have operated a secret wireless station and who have been engaged in propaganda work of a subversive kind in opposition to Yugoslav national interests and to the National Army of Liberation. Similar action will be taken in regard to any other group or individuals who may be now or in the future engaged in any activities of this kind. It is to be hoped that the full assistance of the Allied authorities and in particular of the British authorities in the Middle East will be obtained in dealing with cases of this type. In the same way, the Royal Yugoslav Government trust that the British military and other authorities in the Middle East will offer them every assistance in dealing with the eventual cases of insubordination that might arise in the course of the execution of any of the above measures.

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7) The Yugoslav Red Cross services in the Middle East and elsewhere will immediately be reorganized. The Red Cross personnel in Cairo will be changed and an inquiry concerning their activities will be instituted. The military personnel who are now engaged in the Red Cross organization will be placed at the disposal of the Yugoslav military authorities in Cairo and will be dealt with as other Army personnel. In the same way, the civilian personnel will be treated as all other civilians. New personnel will be appointed as soon as possible.

8) The position in regard to the U.N.R.R.A. organization is under consideration. It is hoped that all the necessary arrangements may soon be made which will enable the sorely stricken population of Yugoslavia to benefit from the supplies etc. arising of the U.N.R.R.A. agreements.

9) The Royal Yugoslav Government will allot immediately a lump sum of money to the Central Committee of the El Shatte and other refugee camps in Egypt to enable them to procure a certain quantity of commodities of which these camps are in need. It will also allow them a regular monthly payment in the future for the same purpose.

10) The intention of the Royal Yugoslav Government in resorting to these measures is to carry out the terms of the

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agreement which was signed with Marshal Tito on behalf of the National Committee of Liberation on June 16 at Vis and in this way to intensify their full cooperation with the authorities in the liberated parts of Yugoslavia aiming at the speedy re-organization and rebuilding of the country as necessitated by the existing circumstances arising out of its participation through the National Army of Liberation under Marshall Tito in the struggle against our common enemies at the side of the Allies.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

26 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

On October 14th I sent to you a memorandum which I thought would be of interest to the President in which there was described briefly a report received from Mr. Yarrow concerning the conversation which he had had with President Benes, Smutny, and Masaryk. We have now received from Mr. Yarrow additional information concerning the luncheon which I have set forth in the attached memorandum. Would you be good enough to see that it reaches the President's desk?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*W. J. Donovan*  
William J. Donovan  
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

CIA

007622

26 October 1944

By

*ABJ*

Date MAY 1 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

You may be interested in the following supplementary material in further description of the luncheon conversation, described in my memorandum to you of 14 October 1944, which our representative, Mr. Bernard Yarrow, had with President Benes, Smutny, and Masaryk:

"President Benes spoke at length about the Sudeten Germans. He stated that the three million Germans now residing in Czechoslovakia will be expelled entirely from the country for they are not going to permit a cancerous growth in the State which will be shaped after the War. Then the discussion turned to the possibility of forming a Danubian Confederation of the Central European States. Benes stated that although the idea looks excellent in theory it is too good to be true. He pointed out that the social structure of Hungary, for example, is so fundamentally different from Czechoslovakia that it would be practically impossible to

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create a unified state of feudal countries of an ultra progressive and democratic country like Czechoslovakia. He further emphasized that Soviet Russia is at present definitely opposed to the formation of a Danubian Confederation for the Soviets regard such a Confederation as another Cordon Sanitaire and look with suspicion upon any barriers against her of the kind that existed before the War.

"He indicated that Soviet Russia may change her attitude toward such a Confederation in later years when she is convinced that it is not directed against her. The implication in President Benes' statement was that Czechoslovakia would be against a Danubian Confederation because Soviet Russia is against it. President Benes started to expound that the key to the solution of Central Europe does not lie necessarily in the formation of a Danubian Confederation but in reaching an agreement and understanding among Czechoslovakia, Poland and Soviet Russia. He felt that an agreement and a military alliance between Russia, Czechoslovakia and Poland would form the basis for a healthy state of affairs throughout Central Europe.

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"We asked President Benes whether or not he sees any hope for an independent Democratic Poland, in the light of present developments. Benes then told us that in November 1943 he discussed for four hours with Stalin and Molotov the Polish question and persuaded Stalin to recognize the Polish government in exile with a few changes in the personnel of the government and carried such proposals to Mr. Mikolajczyk. The agreement called for military alliance between Poland and Soviet Russia similar to the one Czechoslovakia has with the Soviets. Benes related that when he arrived in London November 1943 he first saw Churchill and told him of the progress made by him in his discussion with Stalin about Poland and cited the fact that at the end of a banquet given by Stalin for Benes, Stalin raised his toast to the health of Mikolajczyk. Mr. Churchill asked Benes to persuade Mikolajczyk to sign on the dotted line but Benes did not get anywhere with Mikolajczyk who refused to accept the then proposed agreement by the Soviets.

"During his last trip to Russia, Stalin spoke to Benes about the Japanese situation. He referred to them as bandits and gangsters who must be destroyed. President Benes said that

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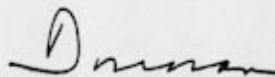
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- 4 -

Stalin has a greater hatred for the Japanese than for the Germans.

"President Benes, throughout the whole conversation, again and again referred to the fact that he is not a communist and never will be but that his whole pro-Soviet political orientation is motivated by fear and a hope not ever to be faced by another Munich.

"President Benes and Massaryk were exceedingly cordial throughout the luncheon and I made arrangements to see Dr. Massaryk during the coming week."



William J. Donovan  
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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~~SECRET~~

26 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see  
that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

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*0.5.5 form 5-44*

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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CIA 007622

By *PPS*

Date MAY 1 1974

26 October 1944

*PSP*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe that you will be interested in the following report which has been forwarded to us by our representative in Bucharest. This report, which discusses the reaction of prominent Roumanians to the possible return of former King Carol, supplements the information previously forwarded to you in our memorandum dated 21 October 1944.

"Re effect produced here by rumor of possible return King Carol to Roumania, one source whose information should be evaluated in the light of his strong anti-Carol and pro-Michael bias, reported on 24 October 1944 that Carol's return to Roumania would help only those seeking to undermine position of monarchy and produce state of complete chaos in Roumania.

"A prominent member of the Roumanian Communist Party stated on 21 October that Carol is an 'outright adventurer whose return to Roumania would be most unfortunate and undesirable'. Informant further stated that Carol

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- 2 -

while King always placed his personal interest ahead of that of the country and spent his time amassing a vast personal fortune and catering to his own extravagant physical appetites. It should be noted, however, that the statements of this informant are not necessarily representative of the views of the entire Communist Party.

"Niculescu Buzesti, Roumanian Foreign Minister, stated on 24 October that the return of Carol to Roumania under present circumstances would produce national disaster of gravest consequences; according to Buzesti, the position of King Michael is only stabilizing factor in Roumanian political scene today and would be seriously prejudiced by Carol's return even as far as Portugal. Buzesti states that if Roumanian official channels for communications were open he would request Portugal to deny entry that country to Carol.

"Certain sources known to be most apprehensive of Russia's intentions toward Roumania for purpose of discrediting monarchy. Russians find Michael enjoys excellent reputation for democratic sentiments and

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activities and for personal morality, thus rendering him difficult target for attack. One such source points to fact that Carol was on excellent terms with Russian Ambassador to Mexico during his stay there."

*Donovan*  
William J. Donovan  
Director

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

27 October 1944

OSS  
PSP

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see  
that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*WJ*

William J. Donovan  
Director

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E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

CIA 004762

By

*WJ*

Date MAY 1 1974

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*O.S.S. folder*  
*5-44*

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

27 October 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will be interested in the enclosed study of German civilian morale made by our Planning Staff. This study is based on an analysis of letters addressed by writers in Germany to German prisoners of war in this country.

*Donovan*  
William J. Donovan  
Director

Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GERMAN CIVILIAN MORALE

Based on an Analysis of German Letters to Prisoners of War

PSF  
OSS

SYNOPSIS

Systematic analysis of ten thousand letters addressed by writers within Germany to German prisoners of war in American captivity gives the following indications about German civilian morale:

1. Morale Trends, Winter 1943 - Spring 1944

- a. There has been a steady decline of German civilian morale in all regions of the country since September 1943.
- b. In general, the focus of attention is always the personal and the immediate and there is little tendency to generalize from personal experience. The predominant hope is for a quick decision in the war and for a resumption of normal family life. There is relatively little direct and positive reaction to German propaganda themes.
- c. In May 1944, morale reached a low point. Yet official German controls remained fairly intact and effective. There was no significant evidence of outright defeatism.

2. Reactions to the Invasion of Western Europe by the Allies

- a. In June, the initial reaction of the German civilian to the invasion of Normandy was a great heightening of anxiety and depression and there was a renewed hope for a quick decision in the war, without much increase in the belief in a German victory. The main source of concern was the safety of the individual soldier. In general, morale was lower than in May.
- b. In July, as hopes for a quick German victory began to fade, morale declined again and there was some slight evidence that German official controls were less effective than in May.

3. Present Morale Situation

Available evidence suggests an eventual civilian collapse rather than any effective mass outbreak against the Nazi regime. The moment of collapse will be determined by the progress of Allied military operations and by the will of the Nazi regime to force continuation of the war.

## GERMAN CIVILIAN MORALE

### Based on an Analysis of German Letters to Prisoners of War

#### INTRODUCTION

The present analysis of German civilian morale summarizes the salient conclusions reached in a series of systematic studies based on ten thousand letters written by German relatives, wives, sweet-hearts, friends and comrades to German prisoners of war in American captivity for the period between September 1, 1943 and July 31, 1944. The samples analyzed comprized a random selection of the German prisoner of war mail received weekly in the New York Censorship Station. In each case the total letter, irrespective of the nature of the content, was subjected to systematic analysis, so that it was possible to obtain a well rounded view of the preoccupations, opinions and moods of the writers, in so far as these were expressed or implied in this heavily censored mail.

#### TRENDS OF MORALE

##### 1. Morale Trends, Winter 1943 - Spring 1944

###### a. Decline of Morale

There has been a continuous decline of German civilian morale in all regions of the country and among all classes of people throughout the period analyzed. After a slight rally in some parts of the country toward the end of 1943, the decline became especially marked and rapid during the Spring months. See Graphs 1 - 7 for morale trends both for all-over Germany and for six geographical regions.

###### b. Basic Classification of Morale Groups

- (1) Good Morale. The ever shrinking category of cheerful and optimistic writers includes three groups: (a) those who fully accept the Nazi ideology, (b) those whose total outlook is extremely limited and personal, and (c) those who accept their personal situation with full realization of its difficulties and possibilities.
- (2) Poor Morale. The growing category of anxious and depressed writers includes two groups: (a) those who are slowly



losing interest in human relationships and withdraw from the events that surround them, and (b) those who feel an increased need for contact with a small group of trusted people (family members, intimate friends and single individuals who have shared a common experience). Withdrawal tends to occur under conditions of severe and prolonged physical and emotional strain (e.g., in the Rhineland and other parts of Western Germany where bombing has been continuous over a very long period of time). The increased need for contact tends to occur when the strain is sporadic rather than continuous (e.g., in the South of Germany).

- (3) The non-committal or cautious category of writers is made up of people who do not express their opinions or feeling about the subjects that preoccupy them. They tend to write relatively less frequently than either of the other categories of writers about such vital subjects as the end of the war. However, the kind of subjects that preoccupy them show that they more nearly resemble the depressed than the cheerful writers. The non-committal group always tends to increase sharply when the internal pressure of official German controls grows heavier.

c. Basic Reactions to the Events of the War and on the Home Front

- (1) During the spring of 1944, the principal reaction of civilians to events of the war and changes in the home front situation has been clearly a negative one. That is, civilians tend to express themselves with ever-increasing caution (with greater awareness and fear of official German controls) or with growing frankness about their personal anxieties and depression. Expressions of enthusiasm and of optimism, on the contrary, continue to shrink and to be ever more limited to the small group who still respond positively to German official propaganda.
- (2) The predominance of the attitude of fearful caution in most regions during the spring months indicates that,

despite the poor mood of the population, public controls remained fairly intact and effective. Any breaks in the system of controls that may have occurred (e.g., in South Germany) were temporary and localized. A resumption or increase in the pressure of official controls, although temporarily effective, seems to lead eventually to greater expression of depression rather than to continued caution. In areas where the population has been subjected to extremely prolonged and severe strain (e.g., in the Rhineland), the problem of control appears to be far less pressing, but it is difficult to get the population there to react in any way at all.

- (3) Among all groups and in all areas there has been a decline in the hope for a German victory, but a steady rise in the hope for a quick decision in the war. See Graph 8, on trends of major attitudes toward the end of the war.

d. Morale on the Eve of the Invasion

In May, on the eve of the invasion of Western Europe by the Allies, German civilian morale had reached a low point. At that time the most critical area was the South where dissatisfaction with the home situation and fears about personal safety in air raids indicated a possible crisis. At no other time was the hope for an end of the war so widely expressed. The mood of the civilian population as a whole was exceedingly subdued and evidences of combativeness and of enthusiasm for the Nazi regime and its leaders were almost wholly lacking. The predominant mode of behavior was, a rather dull and apathetic acceptance of the situation, since no alternative suggested itself to the war weary civilians. The phrases "We must accept our fate" and "We can't change anything" express the common mood. Yet there was no significant evidence of outright defeatism.

## 2. First Reactions to the Invasion of Western Europe by the Allies

### a. June

The initial reaction of the German civilians to the invasion of Western Europe was a great heightening of anxiety, and there was only a very slight increase in the hope for a German victory. Yet the general hope and even the belief that the war would end soon increased appreciably. Direct references to the invasion were marked by the virtual absence of bombast and aggressiveness. The launching of the V-I (robot bombs) caused only a small flurry, limited mostly to the very young and to those little affected by air warfare; among these groups there was a considerable emotional response for a short time. References to Hitler as a leader, to other Nazi officials and to the Nazi regime were very few. References to the strength of the Wehrmacht were almost lacking. References to soldiers were almost entirely personal in character: the men were viewed not as members of an organization, but as individuals who might or might not survive the heavy fighting in the West, as their personal "fate" decreed. On the whole, morale was lower than in May. The only groups that showed slight signs of a rally were the upper and to a far less extent the upper-middle classes, some of whom because of their traditional social position perhaps, seemed to be setting a good tone by expressing group confidence about the outcome of the war for Germany.

### b. July

When hopes for a quick German victory began to fade again there was less talk than in May or June about the end of the war and there was a definite shrinking in the normal horizons of interest in most parts of Germany. Attention obviously focussed on subjects (i.e., those closely related to the progress of the war) about which the correspondents dared not write. A further decline in general morale indicates the effect of the Allied invasion successes upon the thinking of the German civilian and also suggests that German official

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

propaganda and public controls were somewhat less effective than in the period immediately preceding the invasion. In July there was less evidence of optimism in rural than in urban areas, but a greater freedom in the expression of anxiety and depression in most urban sections than in rural ones.

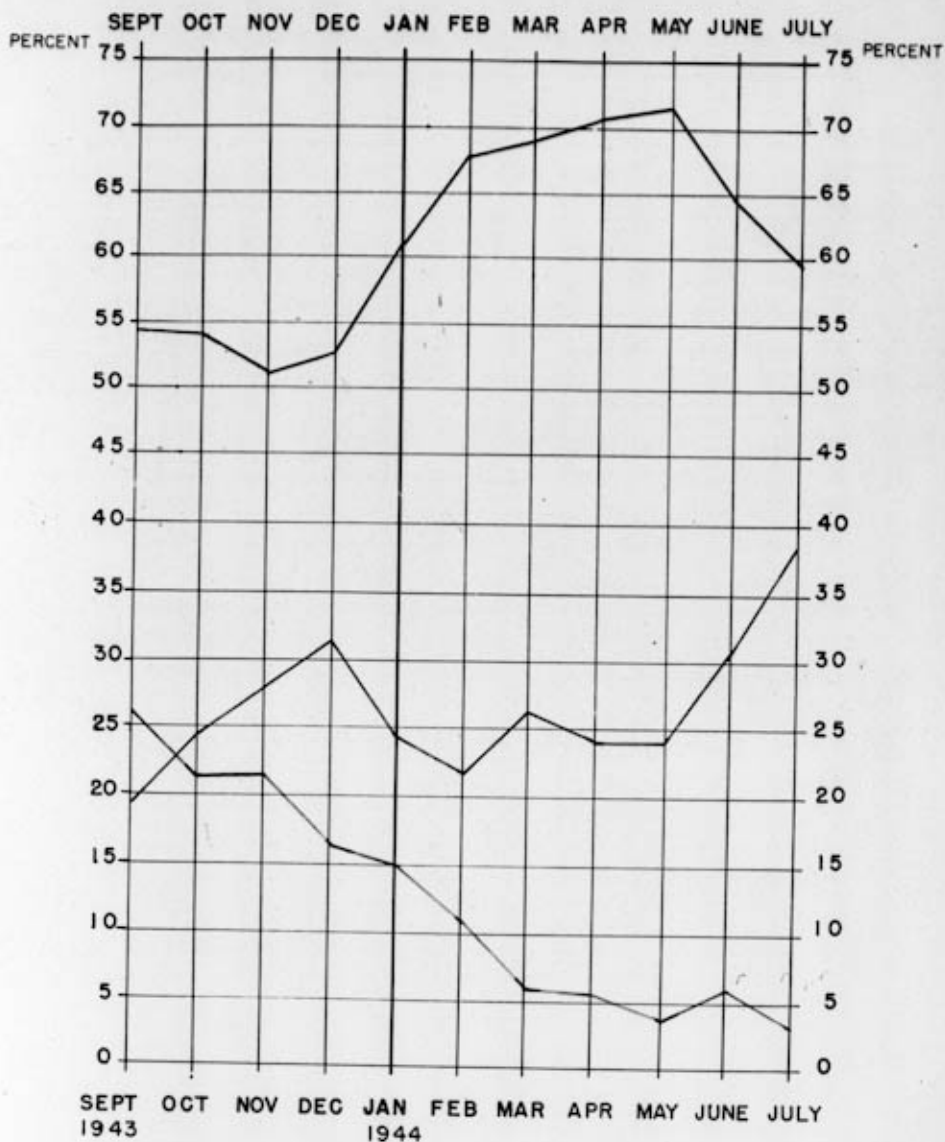
### 3. Present Morale Situation

The available evidence points toward an ever increasing anxiety on the part of the civilians which will be more and more difficult for the German government to control, but the trend of morale seems to indicate an eventual civilian collapse rather than any effective mass outbreak of action against the Nazi regime. The speed of the collapse will be determined largely by the progress of Allied military operations (external pressure) and by the will of the Nazi regime to force continuation of the war (internal pressure). A severe internal crisis, such as a serious breakdown of transportation and of fuel and food distribution (both subjects about which there is considerable anxiety among civilians), might result in some local revolts, especially in the South and in Berlin and other large urban centers. A center of possible resistance to the Allies within Germany may well be the central region (Saxony, Province Saxony, Thuringia and Anhalt) which has been comparatively less affected by the war and has maintained fair morale.

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# I. GERMAN MORALE TRENDS

All Germany



## LEGEND

- CAUTIOUS OR NON COMMITTAL
- POOR MORALE
- GOOD MORALE



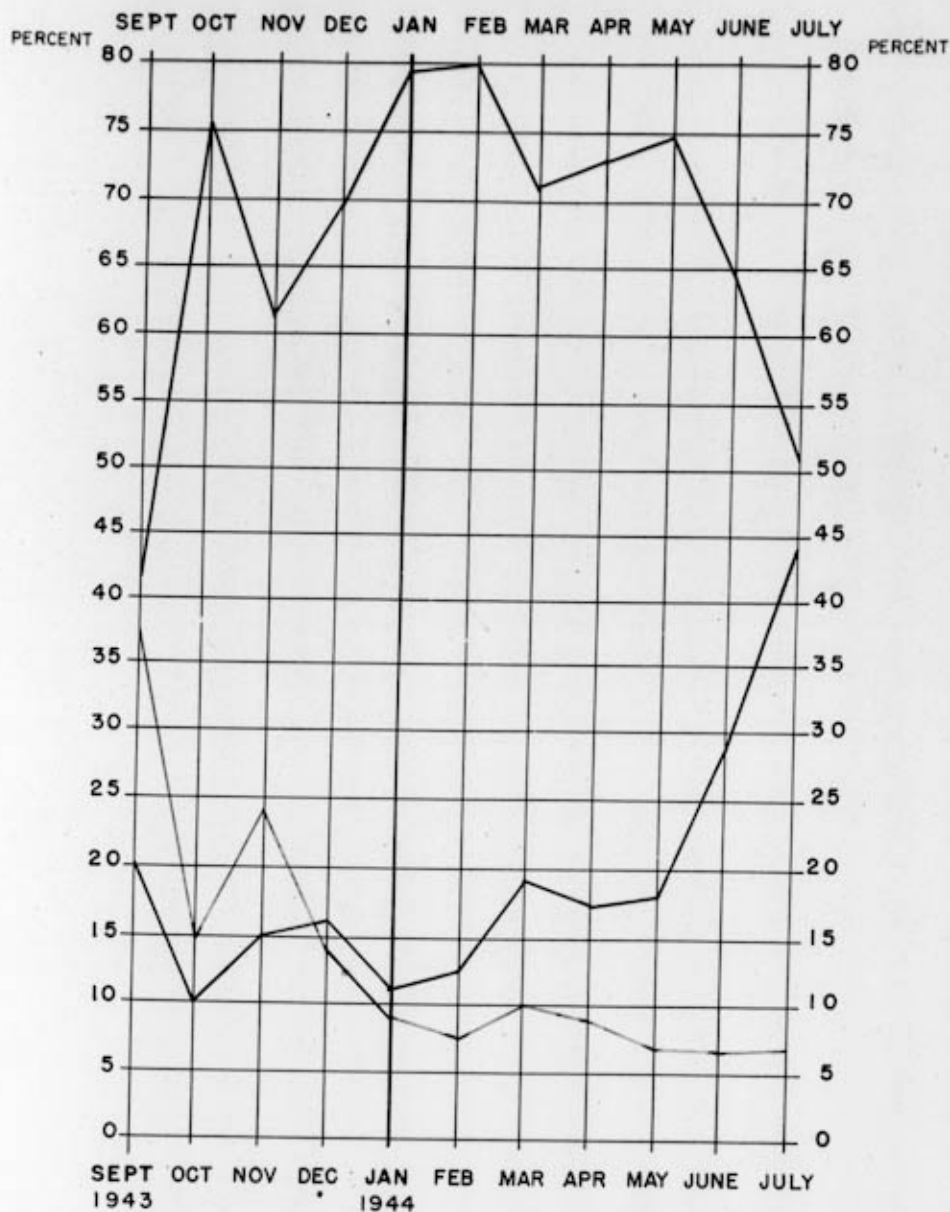
## 2. GERMAN MORALE TRENDS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Regional Perspective

NORTHEAST

East Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Silesia



### LEGEND

- CAUTIOUS OR NON COMMITTAL
- POOR MORALE
- GOOD MORALE

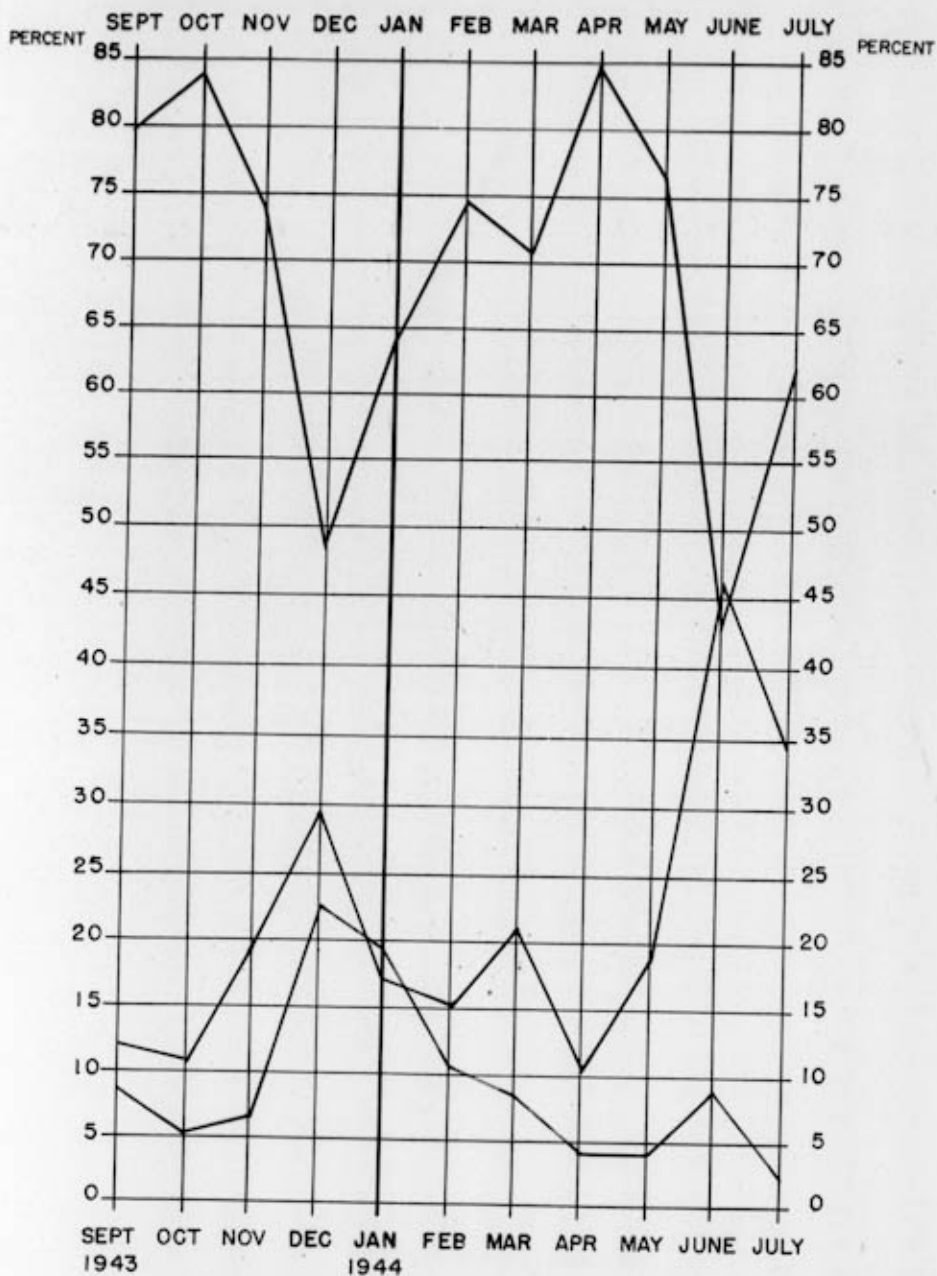
### 3. GERMAN MORALE TRENDS

**CONFIDENTIAL**

#### Regional Perspective

#### NORTHWEST

Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen, Hanover, Schaumburg-Lippe, Oldenburg, Brunswick



#### LEGEND

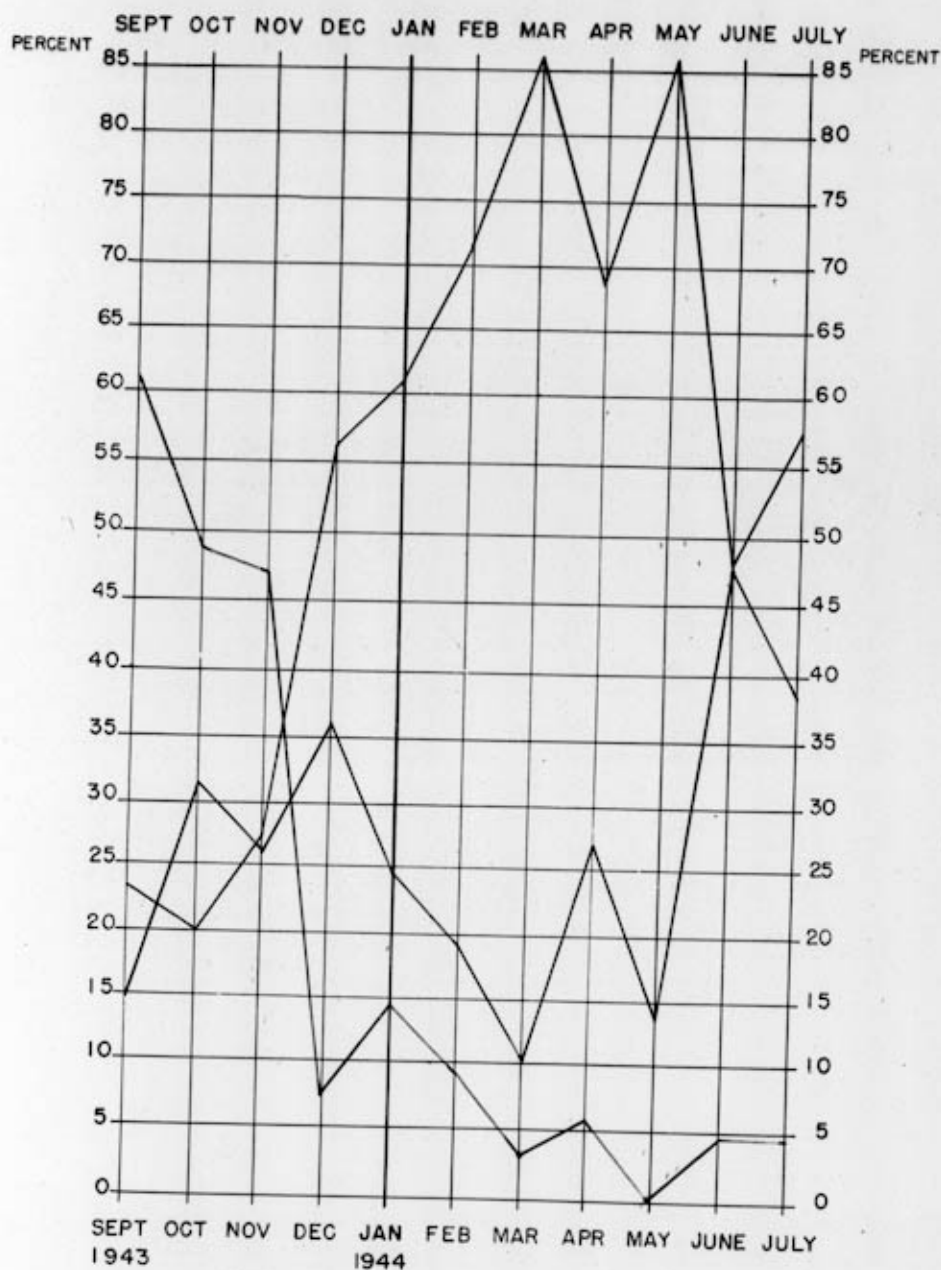
- CAUTIOUS OR NON-COMMITTAL
- POOR MORALE
- GOOD MORALE

# 4. GERMAN MORALE TRENDS

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Regional Perspective

GREATER BERLIN



## LEGEND

- CAUTIOUS OR NON-COMMITTAL
- POOR MORALE
- GOOD MORALE

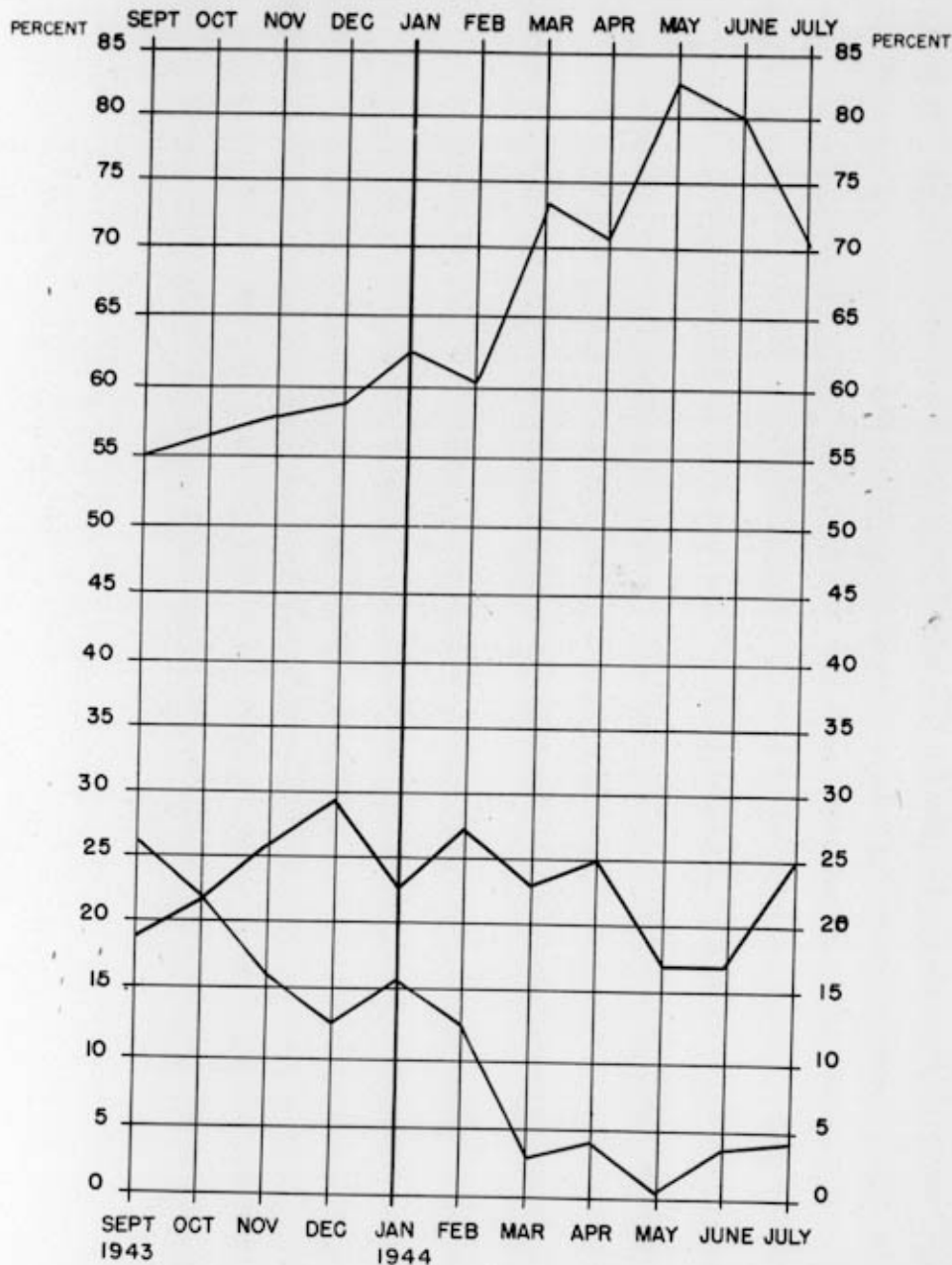
# 5. GERMAN MORALE TRENDS

**CONFIDENTIAL**

## Regional Perspective

### WEST

Westphalia, Rhineland, Hesse Nassau, Hesse, Saar and Ruhr



#### LEGEND

- CAUTIOUS OR NON-COMMITTAL
- POOR MORALE
- GOOD MORALE

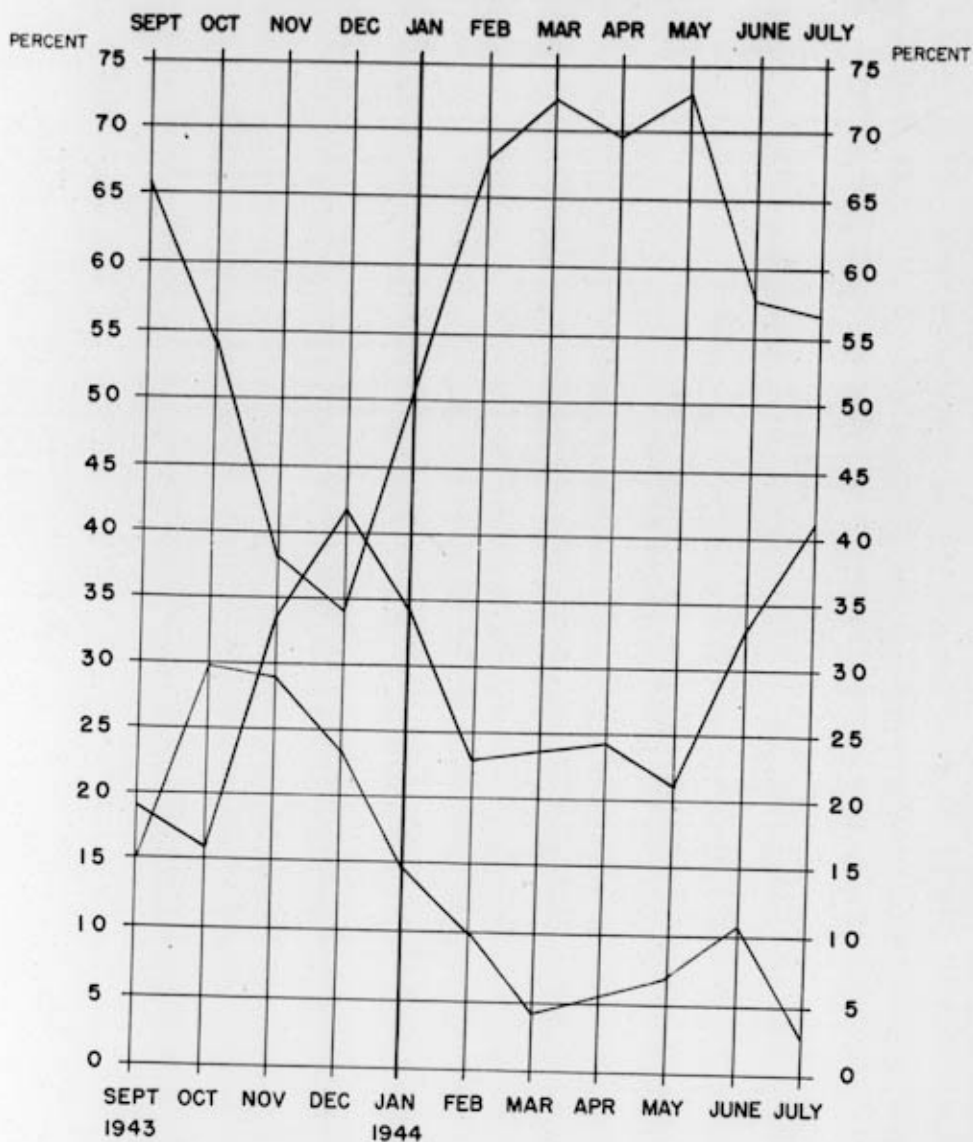
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## 6. GERMAN MORALE TRENDS

Regional Perspective

CENTRAL

Saxony, Province Saxony, Thuringia and Anhalt



### LEGEND

- CAUTIOUS OR NON-COMMITTAL
- POOR MORALE
- GOOD MORALE



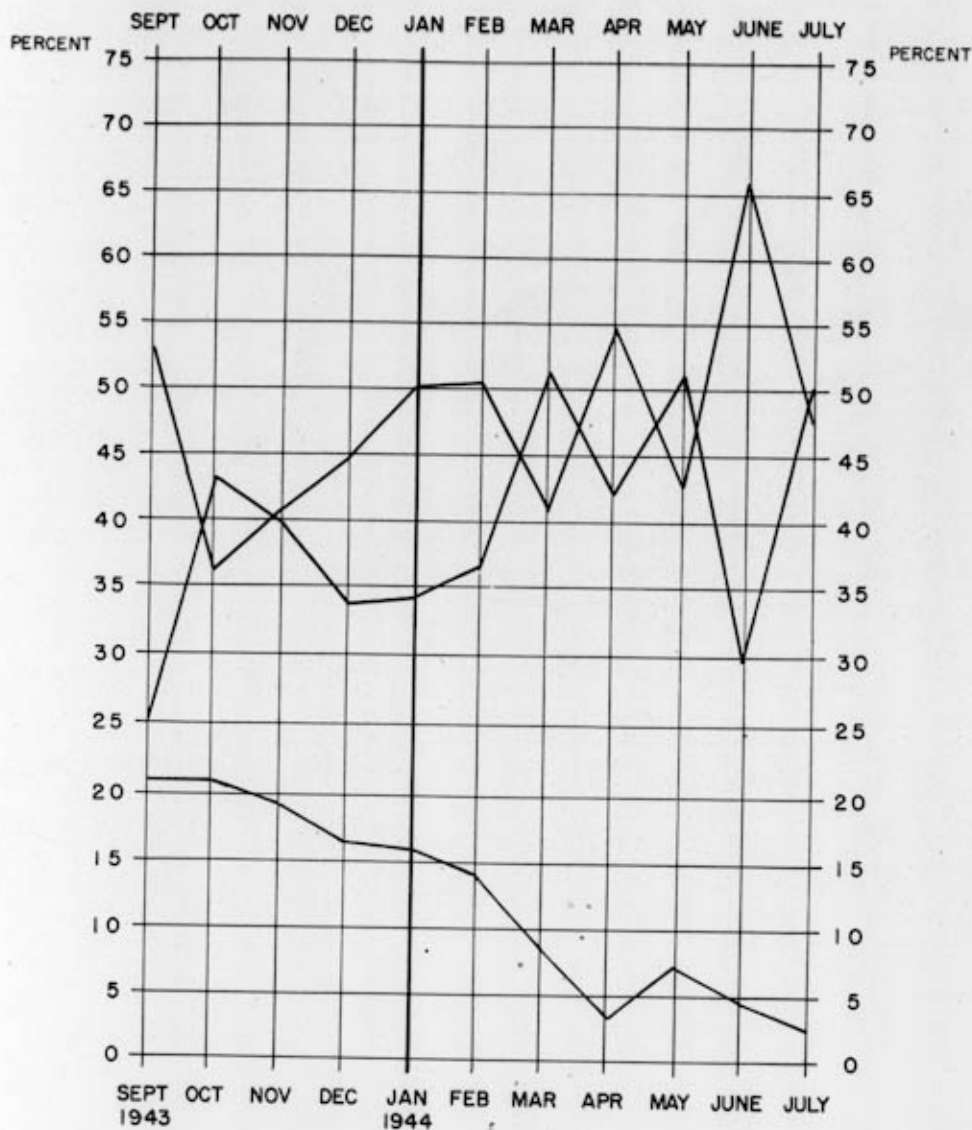
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## 7. GERMAN MORALE TRENDS

Regional Perspective

SOUTH

Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hohenzollern

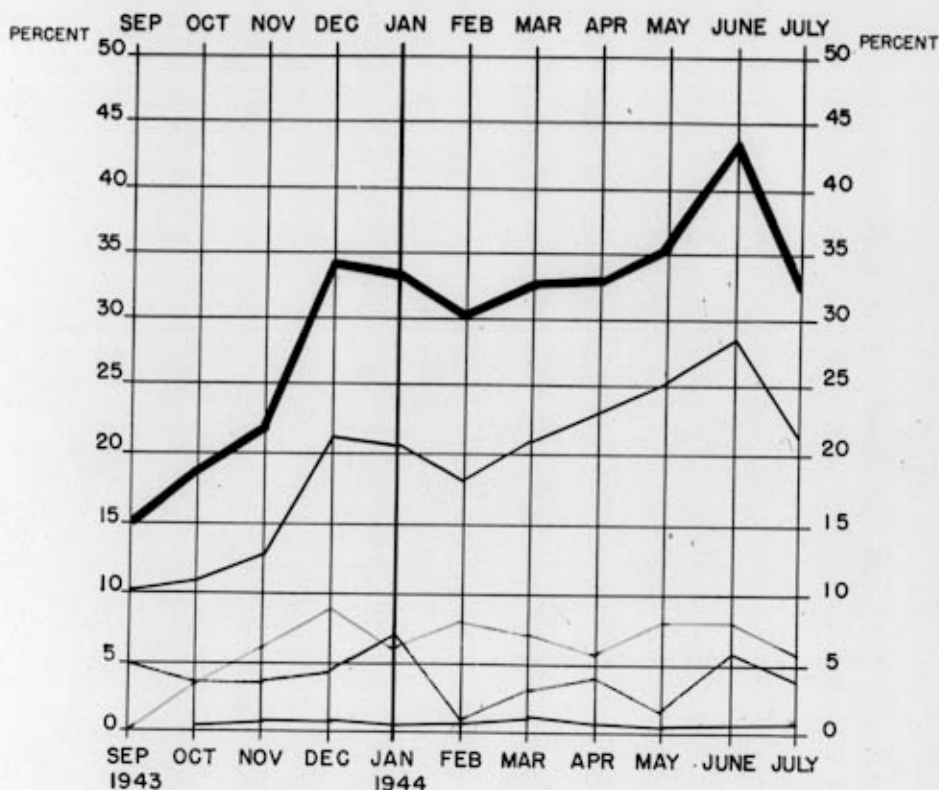


### LEGEND

- CAUTIOUS OR NON-COMMITTAL
- POOR MORALE
- GOOD MORALE

## 8. TRENDS OF MAJOR ATTITUDES TOWARD THE END OF THE WAR

All Germany

LEGEND

Per cent of writers who:

- Mention end of war (total)
- Hope or believe the war will end soon (no indication of outcome)
- Hope for an end of the war someday (no indication of outcome)
- Expect or hope for a German victory
- Express doubt of outcome for Germany

**OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

~~TOP SECRET~~

27 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see  
that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

DECLASSIFIED  
By Authority of CIA  
007622  
By DBS Date JUN 11 1973

~~TOP SECRET~~

*O.S.S. folder 5-44*  
~~TOP SECRET~~  
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

27 October 1944

*PS F*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe that you will be interested in knowing about the following report which I have received from our representative in SEAC:

"During the past few weeks, we have been able to get a clearer view than previously of the political situation as it is shaping up in this theater. The pattern is pretty much the same as it is in other parts of the world.

"There can be little doubt that the British and Dutch have arrived at an agreement with regard to the future of Southeast Asia, and now it would appear that the French are being brought into the picture. Recently, it became known that a French Military Mission will arrive at SEAC shortly. At first, they are to have a strictly unofficial status and will be quartered at hotels. Gradually, their mission will be transformed into an official one, and suitable headquarters and living quarters will be found for them. Meanwhile, this mission will participate in secret discussions and

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By Authority of CIA  
*607422*  
By MLA Date JUN 11 1973

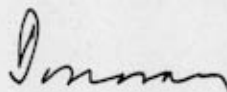
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~~TOP SECRET~~

- 2 -

will have made available to them all of the data on hand.

"It would appear that the strategy of the British, Dutch and French is to win back and control Southeast Asia, making the fullest use possible of American resources, but foreclosing the Americans from any voice in policy matters."



William J. Donovan  
Director

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By Authority of CIA

007622  
By DBS Date JUN 11 1973

~~TOP SECRET~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~RESTRICTED~~

27 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see that it  
reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*WJ*

William J. Donovan  
Director

~~RESTRICTED~~



PSF: O.A.S. folder 5-44

~~RESTRICTED~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

27 October 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I think you will be interested in the following report on two articles which appeared on 10 October 1944 in an American Slovak newspaper. In the first of these, the Soviet-Czechoslovak Pact was held to be the key to the Polish-Russian dispute; in the second, "American Relief for Czechoslovakia" was assailed.

I.

SLOVENSKA OBRANA, a paper which speaks for American Slovak separatists organized in the Slovak League, assigned responsibility for present Polish-Russian difficulties to the Soviet-Czechoslovak Pact, which, the paper said, broke up plans for Central European federation. The editorial which appeared 10 October insisted that federation alone could have given the Central European nations freedom and security against not only the Germans but against 'other types of imperialism'. A summary follows:

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- 2 -

Russian diplomacy needed Tito in the Balkans and Benes in Czecho-Slovakia to break up plans for federation in Central Europe. The Polish nation today finds itself in great danger, due principally to Benes' muddling. The Polish Government-in-Exile has yielded to Moscow's demands as far as the Rubicon. It has dismissed one of its most popular ministers, General Sosnkowski, whom the Communists hated.

The plan of the Soviets is clear -- to occupy all of Central Europe from the Baltic to the Aegean sea, with the exception of Greece. Moscow demands 'unconditional surrender' and such terms will not be acceptable to the Polish Government.

Benes was recognized (for the duration) as president of the exiled government and had no right to conclude pacts with foreign powers which bound the nations of Czecho-Slovakia without their consent.

The Polish problem is also a religious problem. Poland is a Catholic country. For Communists to rule this country either directly or indirectly would be to deliver a severe blow to the Catholic world and Christianity. Poland, because

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- 3 -

of its geographical position and its religious character, is the strongest bastion of Christianity in Europe. Christianity, therefore, cannot ignore the Polish problem. The Vatican is well aware of this. Communist promises of tolerance toward Christianity will in the end result in an open ideological struggle.

The world can thank Mr. Benes for all of this.

## II.

In the same issue Slovenska Obrana attacked the newly organized American Relief for Czechoslovakia, sole Czechoslovak group registered with the President's War Relief Control Board, for selecting as representatives of the Slovaks only members of the pro-Benes Slovak National Alliance. A digest of the article follows:

An American Relief for Czechoslovakia with offices in New York has been formed for Czecho-Slovakia. The director's committee consists of six Slovaks, ten Czechs, and two Carpatho-Russians. How this directorate was elected nobody knows. The Reverend Florian Billy, secretary of the Alliance of Slovak Catholics, inquired of Mr. C. W. Riley, executive

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- 4 -

director of American Relief for Czechoslovakia, what connection his organization had made with Slovak Catholic societies, which represent a majority of Slovaks in America. Mr. Riley said that the Slovak National Alliance was asked to choose two representatives. It nominated four and all were accepted. Here we have it -- the Slovaks are represented by the SNA which was formed to consolidate Benes' second revolt.

Once help comes from America to Prague it will remain in Bohemia. We had experience with this during the last war. Today Slovaks in Slovakia are revolting against the Germans. Why is there no uprising in Bohemia? Why haven't they blown up the Skoda works and other factories which turn out weapons for the Germans? When it comes to taking relief, the Czechs will be right on the spot.

But we don't want Benes' vagabonds speaking in our name. When we pay taxes we should have something to say about them. If relief is to go to Czecho-Slovakia we must see to it that a proportionate amount goes to Slovakia.

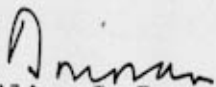
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- 5 -

The approaching congress of the Slovak League should discuss this question and see to it that Slovaks are represented by something more than the SNA which has only about 500 members. Our leaders should demand representation in the relief organization.

The next day Katolicky Sokol of Passaic, New Jersey, carried an announcement that the executive committee of the Alliance of Slovak Catholics had agreed to form an American Slovak Catholic Relief to be headed by the Reverend Florian C. Billy.

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

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~~RESTRICTED~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

27 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see that  
it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

~~RESTRICTED~~



PSF: O.S.S. folder 5-44

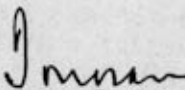
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

27 October 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will be interested in the enclosed report from our representative in Bern describing the recent German coup in Hungary.

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

Attachment

~~RESTRICTED~~

# OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE 24 October 1944

#230

FROM Berne

IIEG

PRIORITY

TO

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

ROUTINE

DEFERRED

## DISTRIBUTION

(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

## RECEIVED IN PLAIN TEXT

### HUNGARY

Information is beginning to leak out from insiders regarding the events which led up to the overthrow of the cabinet of General Lakatos in Hungary and his replacement by Szalasy. The latter, by the way, is a Transylvanian Armenian, the most extreme of the Hungarian Nazis. Lakatos, who, like his Foreign Minister, Hennyey, is a Hungarian and was trusted by Horthy. Lakatos, however, found out from police sources in the first week of October that a putsch was being prepared by Szalasy's men. The latter, presumably, could count on SS support. Attempts were being made at that time by Lakatos, with Horthy's approval, to conclude an armistice. The Germans got wind of this. The tactics of Lakatos, according to his intimate friends, were to put the Germans off the scent by causing confidential information to reach them to the effect that the negotiations had broken down. The Nazi partisans in the Hungarian cabinet, such as Juresek, lost no opportunity of grilling Lakatos to get him to give them binding assurances that he would not attempt to break loose from Germany, without previous consultation with the government and parliament. Their object was, of course, to make sure that the Germans would get notice of any such move and have time to sweep Lakatos aside before it succeeded. Finally, on October 11, they smoked Lakatos out into the open and forced him to declare at a cabinet meeting that circumstances might arise in which he would be constrained in the country's interest to make a separate peace without letting either cabinet or parliament know in advance.

From that moment, the fate of Lakatos was sealed and the Germans, who were no doubt at once informed of the Prime Minister's attitude in the cabinet, decided to play the last so-called Hungarian card in their hand; namely, to put Szalasy in power, either intimidating the Regent into entrusting him with the formation of a government, or dispensing with that formality and just announcing that the Regent had asked Szalasy to become Prime Minister.

It is not clear, from my information, exactly what happened on or about October 15, when the Regent made his proclamation to the country, stating that he was asking for an armistice, and on the following day, when another declaration was read over the Hungarian radio, but not in

## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

## OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. No. 230

FROM **Berne**

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

RECEIVED

16-50901-1 GPO

Horthy's voice, withdrawing the previous one. There can be little doubt, however, that the German action in throwing out Lakatos at last made Horthy turn, and that the October 15 declaration was Horthy's last authentic message to the nation.

Horthy has now, like his counterpart, Petain, become the "guest" of the Germans.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~TOP SECRET~~

28 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I am attaching a memorandum which will be  
of interest to the President. Could you see that  
it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Bul*

William J. Donovan  
Director

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of CIA

007622

By DB Date JUN 11 1973

~~TOP SECRET~~



OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~TOP SECRET~~

28 October 1944

*file*

*PSF*  
*OSS*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

We have just received from our representative Mr. Bernard Yarrow the following cabled report, dated 28 October 1944, on a conference recently held between King Peter and Mr. Churchill:

"King Peter saw Churchill this afternoon. Herewith report as given me by King. Stalin and Churchill discussed general Balkan situation. It was agreed that Greece will be under British only. Yugoslavia military operations and administration upon liberation will be under joint British-Russian control.

"Question of Monarchies in Balkans as a whole was discussed. Stalin was not in principle against re-establishment of Monarchies in Balkans. He said, 'If a King can be more useful in waging war against enemy and maintaining stability after victory, he would prefer him to a makeshift Republic.' Specifically as to Peter Stalin said, 'He seems to be a young man who is close to his people.' But insisted that question of King's return be postponed until people express will by

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007622

By PSJ Date JUN 11 1973

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- 2 -

plebescite. Churchill added, 'When time comes I shall see to it that plebescite is conducted under British, Russian and American supervision.' Churchill smilingly said, 'I shall manage your campaign when time comes.'

"King informed Churchill that he learned from Sutej, Minister of Finance, that Subasic before departure harbored plan to create Regency commission and appointing himself as member of same. King expressed anxiety that Subasic will attempt to perpetuate own political power and is not person upon whom King can rely to fight for his return. Churchill said that this regency idea was news to him and that it is despicable that Subasic promoted it. He assured King that if regency is suggested to him by Subasic or anyone, he will rudely reject it. He said, 'You are neither minor nor at your death bed or mentally deficient, therefore there can be no question of appointing regent.' Churchill amplified that if regent were appointed his acts of malfeasance would be charged against King hence unacceptable. Churchill made a note to send word immediately to British representative participating Tito-Subasic conferences and

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By AB Date JUN 11 1973

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- 3 -

warn him of Subasic's regency scheme. King learned that Philip Broad, former secretary British Legation Belgrade, is British representative at conference. Churchill said that when he met with Tito and Subasic in Italy it was he who fought the battle of the Monarchy with Tito and not Subasic. Churchill said that Tito is only a Communist and will try to put one of his followers as Prime Minister who will exercise very little power. Tito retaining same.

"King asked Churchill to arrange conference between him and Tito in Churchill's presence. Churchill said, 'It is premature now but I will seek the President's opinion as to the advisability of such a meeting.'

"Churchill expressed view that King should not under any circumstances be on Yugoslav soil at present. First because he does not wish by King's presence to legalize some of the misdeeds perpetrated by Tito against some of Yugoslav people. Second that it would be easy to assassinate him and then claim that he was murdered by German agent or Michailovic henchmen. Churchill expressed annoyance at General Ristic's Minister of Defence, placing Royal Yugoslav

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By APB Date JUN 11 1973

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~~TOP SECRET~~

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- 4 -

Air Force and Navy under Tito's command. He said that he received word from his Admiral commanding Mediterranean that he will not tolerate same.

"Finally Churchill reassured King that he need not worry about Subasic-Tito conference for any agreement will have to get his sanction. He said that Stalin was not unreasonable about general Balkan situation but that of course Stalin is a very shrewd man and situation will have to be watched.

"King requests you to keep this report confidential. He is concerned that Churchill may be annoyed if he suspects that King is talking."

*Donovan*

William J. Donovan  
Director

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By Authority of CIA

007622  
By ABJ Date JUN 11 1973

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

**SECRET**

28 October 1944

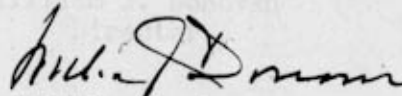
Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I think the President will be interested  
in the attached letter with inclosure.

Will you please see that it reaches his desk.

Sincerely,



William J. Donovan  
Director

**SECRET**

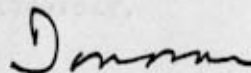
**OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.**

28 October 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I attach copy of a letter from the head of  
our Morale-Operational Branch -- dealing with black  
and subversive operations in Italy.

I hope you will find it of interest.



William J. Donovan  
Director

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~TOP SECRET~~

30 October 1944

*file*

*PSF  
OSS*

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I am attaching a memorandum for the President  
which I think will be of interest to him. Will you  
please see that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*W. J. D.*

William J. Donovan  
Director

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CIA

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By ABJ

Date

JUN 11 1973

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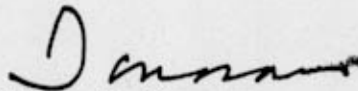
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PSF  
OSS

30 October 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I have just received a priority message from our representative in Stockholm concerning present Russo-Finnish relations. I believe this message will be of interest to you and inclose herewith a copy for your information.

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

Incl: Copy No. 7 ~~Top Secret~~ Cable In 24178, 29 Oct 1944



2 (Revised)

# OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE OCTOBER 20 1944

FROM

STOCKHOLM

TO

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

DISTRIBUTION

XX

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

DEFERRED

IN 24178

(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-57650-1

RECEIVED IN CODE OR CIPHER

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of

CIA

009622

By

DBL

Date

JUN 11 1973

~~TOP SECRET~~

1. Some ominous aspects are currently developing in Finnish-Russian situation. When armistice was signed, Finns began action either to force Germans out of Finland or cause their surrender and turn over to Russians. At same time, in accordance with armistice terms, Finns began partial demobilization of their army. Russians registered dissatisfaction with Finnish efforts against German troops, taking the attitude that Finns were not sufficiently aggressive. Finns moved more military units to northern front and continued demobilization of units in Finland proper only. Russians thereupon raised pointed inquiry why Finns were not demobilizing in north Finland also and advised Finns they must demobilize all military forces to pre-war 1939 size by December 5th. Finns then ordered demobilization initiated up north also. Thereupon Russians reiterated clause in armistice agreement decreeing that all German forces on Finn territory must be either expelled or interned by December 5th. This action on part of Russians has created feeling of panic in Finn general staff circles. In addition to above, Finn intelligence reports that Russians now have assembled 40 divisions on line extending from Gulf of Finland to Arctic. Add to this, fact that with speeded demobilization of Finn Army, changeover time-table to peacetime economy wrecked because several war industry factories stopped and demobilized soldiers cannot immediately be found jobs, as former war workers also out of jobs. Add to this the fear and uncertainty created by "war criminal" list. First list contains 64 persons, including 4 generals; among these, General Pajari, conqueror of Tornea. This list specified by Russians as first list. Query among Finns: How many more lists and who will be on them? Further

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~~TOP SECRET~~

## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PAGE 2

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

~~TOP SECRET~~

FROM

STOCKHOLM

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

IN  
REF. NO. 170RECEIVED

T. [REDACTED]

query: What will they be tried for and who will try them? Above information comes from FMA, who returned from trip to Finland a few days ago.

2. Result of above below-surface tense and confused feeling is that leaders, both Army and civilian, losing spirit and feel "play has been finished." One of our long-time agents arrived Stockholm yesterday from Finland cited 2 specific reactions among demobilized Army officers. Both men, speaking on different occasions, expressed in confidence to our agent that they expected to be recalled to the colors shortly and on being quizzed as to reason for such belief, said they expect shortly to see Russia collide with Britain and U.S.A.

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By Authority of CIA007622By ORS Date JUN 11 1973

Copy #7

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED  
~~SECRET~~

30 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see  
that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

DECLASSIFIED  
~~SECRET~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 October 1944

**SECRET**  
**DECLASSIFIED**

*file*

PSF  
OSS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will be interested in the following report which we have received from our representative in Caserta:

"1. Casimiro Papee, Polish Ambassador to Holy See has told Piorosmzzni, special secretary to Pope, that Churchill hint on Polish frontier question indicates Allied policy veering toward Soviet viewpoints. Papee declared that it was necessary that the Pope intervene since Vatican has special interest in Poland.

"2. Socialists and Communists are reported to have agreed to launch press campaign against Allies.

"3. The Vatican has been informed by Bishop Fulman of Lublin that relations between the Catholic Church and Russia are excellent in liberated Poland. Fulman stated that Polish people favor Communism and opinion is that Polish ruling classes must undergo radical change. Russia, he feels, is counting on United States support

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E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

CIA 007622  
By *APB* Date MAY 1 1974

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- 2 -

to influence England on doubtful issues."

*Donovan*

William J. Donovan  
Director

~~SECRET~~  
DECLASSIFIED

~~RESTRICTED~~ PSF: OSS  
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I think the President will be interested  
in the attached reports which we have received from  
our representative in Berne. Will you kindly see  
that they reach his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

~~RESTRICTED~~



# OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

*file*  
*Confidential*  
#231

DATE 26 October 1944

FROM Berne

HBO

PRIORITY

TO

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

ROUTINE

DEFERRED

## DISTRIBUTION

(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

RECEIVED IN PLAIN TEXT

16-40008-1

### GERMANY

From the city of Basel it is possible to observe the preparations for military operations near the Swiss border across the Rhine in the southwestern tip of Baden, right near the city of Basel. Air fights can frequently be seen by the Swiss on the outskirts of their city. Recently the Huningue pontoon bridge, a few hundred yards away from the Swiss frontier, was bombed by Allied squadrons. Many phosphorus bombs were dropped upon the bridge, but the bursting incendiaries were caught and extinguished by German soldiers along the bridge, and no particular damage was done to the pontoons or the bridge structure, all wooden parts of the bridge being impregnated against fire. Since then, the bridge guard has been doubled, as this bridge is an important line of communication which the Germans wish to keep clear. It is a structure which, if destroyed, can probably be duplicated in a short time, but time might be precious when the crisis comes.

Recently persons at Basel have noticed workers digging a double line of trenches north and east of the Swiss frontier, east of the Rhine, and facing the river. The diggers on these trenches, which are at present waist high and two yards wide, are mostly women wearing overalls and pants and schoolboys. Only a few men, apparently prisoners, can be seen doing this work a few stone's-throw away from the Swiss frontier.

Basel will be near the line of fire when the Americans and French approach this hot corner.

Here is an excerpt from the Neue Zuercher Zeitung of October 25 with regard to the organization of the German Volkssturm. "The Volkssturm is being rapidly organized in Berlin. The first muster of volunteers took place last Sunday. The mobilization in East Prussia started weeks before the official announcement. The first battalions have already been ordered to duty protecting the rear of the positions established during the Summer against possible Russian surprise attacks. The Volkssturm is already in action at the Memel bridgehead. In Bavaria, the first battalions have also been organized. Last Saturday Reichsleiter Schwartz, the leader of the Oberbayern Volkssturm made a speech before a public gathering in Munich in which he strongly criticized the internal opposition in Germany.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. No. 231

FROM Berne

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

RECEIVED

16-30201-1 GPO

He said: 'Those who do not fight will be destroyed. Let no one believe that he can crawl away from the imperative necessity of this struggle. He cannot escape his fate. The time of evasion and arguing is past. We no longer have any space at our disposal. We can only resort to a German village or a German town. The time is past also for cowardly mental evasion or retreat without orders. There is no room for discussion of how it all happened. We must accept the hard facts and act accordingly. While the enemy plans our destruction, we must put an end to the silly talk of National Socialism having provoked this battle for our lives. Let no one believe he could escape his fate if the enemy gained the upper hand. Let no one tell us that only the Nazis would be hanged, that the Germans would be spared. The German worker is the very objective of our enemy. There would be no exceptions or discriminations. If the enemy were victorious, all that we love and cherish would be lost. Abject misery would be our irrevocable fate. The ruins of German cities would always stare us in the face. It is worth the price of a total and maximum effort to escape slavery to the end of our days.

"We want to be free German men and give all that we have for the beloved Fatherland. Whoever fails to march with us or tries to sabotage our national uprising will suffer the most severe punishment our community can mete out. Whosoever is not with us is against us and is a traitor who deserves the hangman's noose."

~~RESTRICTED~~

# OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE 27 October 1944

#232

FROM Berne

HBO

PRIORITY

TO

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

ROUTINE

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## DISTRIBUTION

(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

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### GERMANY

Upon returning here to Switzerland, I found no particularly new ideas as to the approximate duration of the war. More, I believe that people here are now reconciled to another winter of war. They expect the end to come next Spring, when weather conditions permit the full weight of the Allied armies to be brought to bear from West, East, and South, and from the air. The people here are naturally conservative in their judgment as to the end of the war, as they must husband their reserves of food and fuel and desire to discourage any ideas that they can now safely begin to use up emergency stores. While this Swiss judgment may well be correct, there are some signs that the collapse may come sooner.

The stories we get here from Germany indicate that the internal situation is appreciably worse than it was seven weeks ago when I left. In particular, transportation is becoming more and more difficult. The Volksturm effort of Himmler appears as a last measure of desperation. Hitler is the only one who could really rouse the German people, and he is strangely silent. Events in Hungary, the fall of Aachen, the invasion of East Prussia, while they do not greatly affect morale, because there is no morale, at least are noted in Germany as evidence of the progress of the slow strangulation process which has been going on relentlessly for two years since Stalingrad and El Alamein.

The only question is whether the whole German people are going to lend themselves to national self-destruction, and how long it will take for them to have this ambition satisfied. The German propaganda machine is doing a good job in persuading the German people that self-destruction is the best policy. The general catch-word is "enjoy the war while you can, because the peace will be unspeakable misery." The Germans are told that they will be reduced to slave laborers -- all of them, not only the SS and the Nazis, that millions are to be deported to Russia, that the soldiers will never return to their homes if they want to surrender, that conditions in the liberated countries are far worse than conditions in Germany. The publicity given to the so-called Morgenthau plan came just in time to give this line of propaganda a great boost. The President's last speech should help to counteract this trend, if it can be got over to the German



## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

## OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. No. 232

FROM Berne

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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people, but at this late stage it will be difficult to do this. All in all, it seems that the German people are all set for a kind of national hara-kiri, but this may not take as long as some people here believe. We cannot rightly expect an open revolt from the people. It might come from the Reichswehr, but this is not very likely. About the best we can now hope for is a sort of national sit-down strike against Hitler & Co. The workers could feign illness, the soldiers might desert in increasing numbers, the train services might be disrupted by a combinations of causes, and then suddenly the machine might stop functioning and the war would then be over except for guerrilla action here and there. We may be several months away from this point, it might come almost any time, or, as generally believed here, it might only come when Spring permits the final military push to topple over the already badly undermined German structure.

~~RESTRICTED~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I would appreciate it very much if you would  
bring the attached memorandum to the attention of the  
President as soon as possible.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*WJ*

William J. Donovan  
Director

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By Authority of

CIA

007622

By

DBS

Date

JUN 11 1973

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
OFFICE OF SPECIAL SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 October 1944

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By Authority of CIA

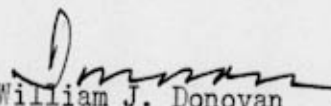
By ABJ Date AUN 11 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

An incident has arisen in China of which I believe you should be informed.

Brigadier General Lyle H. Miller, USMC, who was assigned to OSS by the Marine Corps, made statements at a dinner attended by Tai Li and other Chinese in Chungking which Tai Li considered insulting to the Chinese and the Generalissimo personally. I enclose message received from our senior office in Chungking concerning this matter, the answer I sent after talking with General Vandergrift and a message just received from General Miller giving his views. On 27 October I sent copies of the first two of these cables to General Marshall, Admiral Edwards, General Vandergrift and Dr. Hornbeck of the State Department.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have asked the Theater Commander to investigate and report to them.

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

Incl.

- 1 - Copy No. 8 of OSS in-23895, 26 October 1944
  - 2 - Copy No. 8 of OSS out-21418, 26 October 1944
  - 3 - Copy No. ~~23895~~ 27415, 29 October 1944
- ~~TOP SECRET~~



(Revised)

## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE October 26, 1944

FROM

MAWOT, CHUNGKING

TO

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PRIORITY

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IN: 23895

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007622

By ABJ Date JUN 11 1973

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~~TOP SECRET~~

#2439. To Donovan from Dow. Information: Coughlin.

The information which follows is in reference to my Top Secret priority message to Coughlin, #100, and is intended for the Director alone:

Very grave diplomatic relations have arisen. A full report is herewith submitted. General L.H. Miller was tended a conference and a dinner on the afternoon and evening of the 22nd of this month by TL. During the dinner liquor was served and General Miller, both in speech and conversation, spoke most disparagingly of Madame Chiang Kai Shek, her husband, the Chinese people and the country itself. Listed below are the statements made by the General: (1) Again and again Miller demanded that TL afford us the opportunity of being entertained by Sing-song girls. He requested that TL produce such maidens. TL attempted to switch the conversation into other channels but Miller was adamant. (2) Miller asked TL about Chiang Kai Shek's new women and wanted to know if this was the reason for his wife's long absence. (3) The General denied that China is a front rank power. He stated that the country could not even be considered a 5th or 6th rank power and that they were just about a 12th. (4) He stated that China was guilty of "God damn obstructionism". (5) Miller asserted that China would now be under Japanese domination if it had not been for the United States. America guarantees that China is a front rank power and also guarantees China's territorial integrity. According to Miller, 40-50 years will be required for China to assume a leading position. (6) In order to protect China from the USSR, it is necessary for China to have our support. (7) Throughout the evening Miller time and again called the Chinese, "Chinamen". (8) The General said "You Chinamen must open your eyes and stop sleeping like that idiot over there." Miller designated one of the Chinese guests as an example of what he meant. (9) Miller said that in the Philippines he would get Japanese genitalia and ask the Chinese to a dinner at which they would be served. The General's tirade went on for more than 2 hours, punctuated with a good deal of

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## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PAGE 2

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

FROM CHUNGKING

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

REF. NO. 2439

RECEIVED

TOP SECRET

table pounding and swearing. Both myself and Colonel Tolstoy attempted to break it up but were ordered to remain quiet by both TL and Miller. TL brought all the charges to Miles; TL saw me today. Within the next day or so TL is going to inform Chiang Kai Shek of the entire incident. Miller is regarded by TL as a personal representative of you, the United States and OSS. He holds that the tirade was conducted in public and that it is indicative of United States opinion and also the opinion of OSS. TL refuses to permit the slanderous accusations against his countrymen, China, Madame Chiang Kai Shek and her husband. TL stated that in all probability Chiang Kai Shek will order the withdrawal of the entire SACO from China and will assuredly demand that our entire Organization be recalled. Miles is wiring Admiral King at once to withdraw OSS from SACO and all China CB (sic) with the exception of the current productive EAVG (sic) operation and to confer with the President at once. General Hurley and Miles are conferring today. Miles will hold out for a General Courts Martial for Miller and there is a possibility he will depart for America at once. TL does not think that Miller was very intoxicated at the dinner. I ask that you believe me that this situation is very grave and extremely urgent. I concur with Miles that it will reflect on all Americans, complete SACO, Dixie mission as well as General Hurley's status. On the 27th of this month, Major Wilkinson will depart for Washington to confer with you in person. The individuals noted below were guests at the affair: 8 prominent SACO Chinese, exclusive of General Tai Li, Lieutenant Colonel Tolstoy, Lieutenant (senior grade) H.J. Wiens, Lieutenant Colonel Dow, Captain L.A. Lovegren, Captain C.N. Weems and Major Wilkinson.

TOR: 10/26/44 5:33 PM

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007622

By [Signature] Date JUN 11 1973

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(Revised)

# OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE October 26, 1944

REC'D

10/26/44 7:41 p.m.

TO

TEKHI, NEW DELHI

FROM

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PRIORITY

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(CONFIRMATION TO ORIGINATOR)

(FOR INFORMATION)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-57553-1

TRANSMITTED IN CODE OR CIPHER

#16279. To Coughlin from 109. Referring to your #11329.

The situation mentioned in the above cable should be taken up immediately with General Stilwell and his Judge Advocate. You should take General Stilwell's advice concerning the necessary action to be taken. You should also obtain statements from all these who attended the dinner.

The way the matter should be handled will, naturally, be General Stilwell's responsibility, as he is the senior American officer in the Theater.

With regard to Dow, I do not find that he has been accused of making any objectionable remarks, and until I am able to ascertain the reason for his return, I cannot order him to do so.

The material contained in your message has been made known to General Vandergrift. He will be sent a copy of this communication. Kindly convey my sincerest regrets to General Tai Li for this serious breach of civility, which is not lessened by the incapacity of the officer to conform to the generous hospitality of the country.

I wish you would get in touch with General Huxley, and make known to him the circumstances of the situation.

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TOD: 10/26/44 11:11 p.m. By AB

Date

JUN 11 1973

WJD

INITIALS OF RELEASING OFFICER

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Copy 8

(Revised)

# OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE October 29, 1944

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By Authority of CIA

FROM

CHAFX, KUNMING

007622

OP

PRIORITY

TO

By BBJ

Date JUN 11 1973

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IN 24130

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**TOP SECRET**

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# \* . To Coughlin for Donovan from General Miller.

1. I returned today from Liuchow. It was at General Chen-nault's suggestion that I made the trip. When I got back here, I was given a note from Wilkinson which advised me that Miles and perhaps Tai Li were informing Washington of the incident at Chung-king. The note recommended that I should get in touch with you. The following are the highlights of the matter: Tai Li held the dinner at Happy Valley on Sunday evening. It was not until Tuesday afternoon, when Dow informed me about it, that I had any knowledge that the Chinese had objected to anything I had said. I got in touch with Miles at once and informed him that I would remain and personally apologize to Tai Li if he believed it desirable. He answered that he believed it would be preferable to present an apology in writing. He also stated that as far as Tai Li was concerned, he was not going to take any action on the matter. Dow, too, considered the matter a tempest in a teapot, which would be smoothed over by the presentation of an apology. On this understanding, I gave Dow an apology in writing which he was to deliver. I then left on the plane on which I was scheduled to make my return to Kunming.

2. These are the facts: We were undoubtedly more gambeis\*\* drunk than we should have been. Since we had accepted one drink, it was impossible for us to decline to drink without insulting the Chinese. Tai Li insisted on our having 3 drinks, one after the other quickly, and this was the last straw. The Chinese have seemingly been insulted by 3 matters: (1). I inquired of Tai Li, who represented himself as a close friend, whether General Chiang Kai Shek intended to marry another woman. (2). I said that "sing-song girls" should be present at the party. I meant this as a

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# OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PAGE 2

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

FROM CHAFK KUMMING TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

REF. NO. IN 24130
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joke at a bachelor party. (3). I cursed the Chinese and characterized them as "fools". This charge, to the best of my belief and knowledge, is not true. I did employ the word "foolish" and the phrase "damn it", but in a wholly impersonal sense. I spoke these words in an exhortation intended to secure more active cooperation for our joint activities.

3. Of course I wished to let you know about the foregoing at the first chance but I did not use wires to do so since I believed I would meet you at Ceylon prior to my return. I am, of course, sorry about the matter if it created any embarrassment to our country's war effort or to OSS. As I view the matter, it is my personal official record which will suffer the greatest injury as a result. It is still my opinion that the Chinese interpreters, who failed to translate accurately, were the actual cause of the misunderstanding. I think it would be advisable for a copy of this wire to be furnished to General Vandergrift.

\* Number garbled.

\*\* Please consult plain text.

TOR: 10/22/44 7:51 a.m.

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007622

By ORS Date JUN 11 1973



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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

**SECRET**  
NOT REPRODUCED

31 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see  
that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

**SECRET**  
NOT REPRODUCED



OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

31 October 1944

**SECRET**

*file* <sup>↑</sup> PSF  
OSS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will be interested in three reports which we have just received from our representative in Caserta.

The first of these reports contains the views of Nenni, Socialist Party leader, as stated in a private conference with our representative.

"1. Socialist Party must give people at least a republic. Monarchical institution must go.

"2. As long as Communist party stands for Socialist doctrines and represents Italian form of Communism pact will hold.

"3. Socialist party will never be part directly or indirectly of Comintern.

"4. Sturzo, possibly Sforza, if here would help bring Christian Democrats to side of Socialists. Their leaders here are too close to Vatican. Christian Democrats are for effective republican bloc. Not likely at present.

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CIA 007622

By

*ABS*

Date

MAY 1 1974

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- 2 -

"5. There can be no Fascist house cleaning while present government exists."

The second of these reports deals primarily with the position of Sforza.

"1. Sforza's opinion is that government crisis is very probable. He stated that Socialist, Action Party and Communist leaders have approached him to be available for Premiership.

"2. He admitted that it was difficult for him to back out of U. S. post. He may go for temporary period only. He is hesitating because he fears a change in the government during his absence.

"3. Sforza said his presence here may hasten removal of Bonomi. He would like to go to U. S. as Foreign Minister for a brief period.

"4. Meanwhile Socialists are planning attack on Carandini for London post because appointment was made without cabinet approval. Appointments all on right wing."

The third report reads as follows:

"1. War Minister Casati in accord with Bonomi

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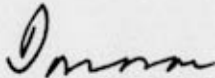
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- 3 -

that Italian Government should be permitted to communicate authorization to Milano to act on behalf of government for military purposes only. General Alexander has refused to grant this.

"2. Italian Government ready to set up funds for patriot bands if permitted and wants to know methods of transmittal.

"3. Also planning to pass law extending rights and privileges of veterans to patriots."

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

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**SECRET**

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~TOP SECRET~~

*file*  
31 October 1944

*PSF  
OSS*

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested  
in the attached report. Will you kindly see that  
it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William J. Donovan  
Director

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By Authority of CIA

007622

*DBS*

Date 11/1 1973

~~TOP SECRET~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~TOP SECRET~~

31 October 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Knowing of your concern that Nazism should not survive this war by going underground, I believe you may want to see the attached memorandum on the anti-Nazi activities of the Protestant and Catholic churches in Germany. This memorandum was prepared early in September 1944 by Dr. H. Schoenfeld, an outstanding figure in the Evangelical Church who left Germany in June of this year and now maintains his German contacts from a residence taken up in Switzerland.

Already the anti-Nazi church elements, organized in cells and "leading groups" of both the clergy and the laity, have saved thousands of Jews, hostages, prisoners of war, foreign churchmen and labor draftees from extermination, deportation and other Nazi control measures. This was accomplished not only through intercession with government officials but also by clandestine action undertaken at great personal risk. Dr. Schoenfeld's memorandum, which emphasizes the collaboration between the Catholic and Protestant clergy, provides a list of prominent personalities and an outline of their activities in this movement.

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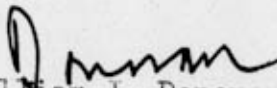
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By DRS JUN 11 1973

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Foreseeing the collapse of Nazi Germany, this movement has formed a Self-Help ("Selbsthilfe") organization, headed by central commissions responsible for maintenance of transportation, distribution of food, protection of spiritual welfare and reorganization of the German educational system. In his memorandum Dr. Schoenfeld includes a proposal for close liaison between the Self-Help organization and the Allied forces of occupation.

  
William J. Donovan  
Director

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By DDO Date JUN 11 1973

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TOP SECRET

15-521  
Germany  
Evangelical Church  
Catholic Church

THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCH WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE RESISTANCE  
MOVEMENT AGAINST THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST REGIME IN GERMANY.

I. In the dispute with the Nazi Regime during the past seven or eight years in general, and during the recent years in particular, the main decisive contribution of the German Evangelical Church, and the Roman Catholic Church, has been the bitter, constantly renewed, successful battle of resistance of these churches against the repeated attempts of the Party and Reich Government to disrupt the unified structure of the church body as a whole, and to destroy the administrative structure of the church in order to divide the corporate Church into individual church communities. Such a division would have placed the individual church communities in a situation of powerlessness. These attempts have been made during the war to destroy the corporate character of the churches. This destruction was only avoided through the emergency intervention of the most courageous among leading Churchmen, and through the efforts of prominent Christian laymen in Government, Army, industry, science, and agriculture. At the same time, it was possible to save the church centers of the Home Missions and other organizations, from seizure and expropriation, thus preserving the basis for further development of the battle waged by leading groups and community "cells".

II. This also made it possible to preserve the material basis for a collective spiritual orientation of the broad strata of the population in all communities and churches. Through sermons and pastoral counsel, through lectures and evangelization, foundations were laid among all classes of the people for a determined struggle against those principles of national socialist ideology which represent lust for power, the theory of the master race, lawlessness, and the lust for revenge. Thus, the work in this domain, repeated week after week, succeeded in sustaining broad strata of the population in their resistance against hate. This was especially true at the time when hundreds of thousands of evacuees found themselves in desperate circumstances and were

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007622

By SPS

Date JUN 11 1973

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...in the hands of the leading church forces in bringing about the preservation of Christian education for tens of thousands of children from the evacuated communities, thereby establishing the basis for reorganization of education, and providing a foundation upon which it will be possible to build, once National Socialism has been abolished.

III. In the collective action of the resistance movement in Germany in behalf of the non-Aryan population, and especially of non-Aryan Christians, the leading churchmen of the Evangelical and Catholic Churches have often constituted the deciding, crystallizing nucleus, by their ability to mobilize Christian lay forces in all districts of Germany. Around this nucleus were prominent members of the armed forces, industry and agriculture. In this way, the steps taken with the Reich Government carried sufficient weight to become a deciding factor. Furthermore, through open, as well as secret collaboration of the leading groups and the "cells", it was possible in many thousand individual cases, to save non-Aryan members of the German population from deportation and extermination. It was possible to hide many thousand persons in the large cities, although by this act clergymen and Christian laymen risked their lives. Through collaboration of the leading groups with the "cells", it was possible to remove threatened persons to other districts, thereby saving lives. There were thousands of cases where efforts to save the threatened persons were not successful. However, the struggle was continued without interruption until the last few months. The churches also contributed in a decisive manner toward preventing the deportation of 400,000 non-Aryans of mixed parentage.

IV. In the collective activity of the resistance forces to obtain humane treatment for the millions of prisoners of war, the churches mobilized their own forces within the Christian laity as extensively as possible. Furthermore, through their defense of collective Christian care for prisoners of war, as carried out by the organizations of the entire ecumenical movement of the Vatican, the churches have lent direct support to resistance forces in key

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positions in the Army and Government. This proved especially useful in the effort to rescue one million Russian prisoners.

V. On the basis of their experience in the struggle against the National Socialist Regime, the representatives and liaison agents of the Evangelical and Catholic Churches among the leading Christian elite in the occupied countries have offered their constant and useful support. It was necessary to acquaint the leading men of the Christian elite with particular resistance methods over a wide area. Through close collaboration between the churches' liaison agents and the political resistance forces in Germany and the occupied countries, it was possible to lend particular weight to the collective action of the church in the occupied countries. This was particularly useful in the struggle to bring about the preservation of the corporate organization of the churches in Holland, France and Denmark. The struggle for the preservation of Christian schools in Holland was likewise supported in this manner. Furthermore, it was often necessary to protect the safety of leading churchmen in occupied countries through the efforts of the churches' liaison agents in the resistance movement in Germany. Through this action it was possible to liberate the two leading Dutch churchmen, Prof. Kramer and Dr. Gravemayer, from the hostage camp where they were being held. This method alone made it possible to protect the well-known leading French churchman, Dr. Marc Boegner, and to obtain the liberation of many members of the French clergy from detention by the Gestapo. Through the efforts of these liaison agents, it has also been possible, so far, to protect Bishop Berggrav from further seizure and to maintain personal liaison with him.

VI. The central liaison agents of the Churches in Germany - in this case particularly the German Evangelical Church - have interceded in favor of an all-embracing support of the spiritual welfare and rallying of the 4,500,000 Dutch workers and clerks in Germany. At the risk of the agents' own lives, this work was often carried out for the benefit of French, Norwegian and Danish labor draftees. In all districts of Germany, community houses, churches, church homes, and rooms in the houses of the clergy, were placed

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at the disposal of foreign workers, to collect them and provide for their spiritual welfare. Collections taken up in German communities often made it possible to procure the services and provide for the support of Dutch and French vicars. The functioning of Christian laymen was also made possible through efforts of the church and its agents. This was accomplished only by bitter struggles against both the Gestapo and Dr. Ley's Labor Front organization. A relationship of mutual trust was created between the leading church groups and the prominent church representatives of the German Evangelical Church, as well as the Catholic Church, a relationship which proved valuable in the work of collaboration in matters pertaining to the "Self-Help" organization (Selbsthilfe).

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The Oecumenical Contacts of Dr. H. Schonfeld which he has been able to maintain in a large measure throughout the war.

- I. Contact maintained since 1929-30 with Dr. Leiper and Dr. Cavert, U.S.A.  
Contact maintained since 1937-39 with Rev. Roswell P. Barnes and Mr. John Foster Dulles.

The first three, named above, are secretaries-general of the American Federation of Churches; collaboration embraces social-ethical, economic and international problems.

- II. a. In contact since 1930 with Lord Bishop of Chichester for collaboration in spiritual matters, as well as for the support of the church's work in assistance to non-Aryan Christians.  
b. Since 1932-33 in contact with Dr. J. Oldham, the spiritual director of the oecumenical preparatory work, preceding the World Church Conference at Oxford on "Church, State and People". Through him many contacts have been maintained with the representatives of the British trade unions and industrialists, with leading men in the British educational field, as well as politicians. At present, contact has also been established with Dr. Oldham's work as the author of "Christian Youth Letter".  
c. Since 1935-37, in contact with W. Tempel, then Archbishop of York, now Archbishop of Canterbury; collaboration in the preparation of the Oxford Conference, especially in the treatment of social and economic problems.
- III. a. Since 1936-37 in contact with Prof. Dr. H. Kramer, the spiritual leader of the eight Dutch Reformed Churches.  
b. Since 1940-41 in contact with Dr. Gravemeyer, The Hague, in central organisational management of the convention of the eight Dutch Reformed Churches; collaboration during the war, especially in matters pertaining to the mobilisation of the church's resistance forces in Holland; participation in the action which led to the liberation of Dr. Kramer and Dr. Gravemeyer, who had been arrested as hostages.  
c. Since 1931-32 contact has been maintained with the French church leader, President Dr. Mark Boegner; participation in the action in-

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- uring Dr. Boegner's protection from the Gestapo.
- d. Since 1931 in contact with Dr. Conrad, secretary-general of the French Reformed Church; collaborative action during the war, particularly in intervention on behalf of French prisoners of war, as well as of French workers in Germany; participation in the protective action on behalf of arrested French clergymen and non-Aryan Christians.
  - e. Since 1936-37 in contact with Bishop Dr. Bergrav, Norway. Collaboration during the war in matters pertaining to international questions and the organization of oecumenical collaboration between the leading Scandinavian, British, French and other church leaders; in the oecumenical movement in behalf of a just and lasting peace, support of the Norwegian resistance forces within the church; participation in the protective action in behalf of Bishop Bergrav; support of the action for the care of Norwegian workers and clerks in Germany.
  - f. Since 1936-37 in contact with Bishop Fugelsang-Damgaard, Copenhagen, the leading Bishop of the Danish Church; collaboration during the war for the support and protection of the church resistance forces in Denmark; support of the spiritual care of Danish workers in Germany.

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NOMINATIONS.

The following lists the names, and gives a brief summary of the activity, of vitally important personalities in the German "Self-Help" organization of the Church. (Selbsthilfewerk der Kirchen).

- I. A close relationship was established between leading representatives of the German Evangelical Church and the Roman Catholic Church in Germany for the purpose of building up the "Self Help" organization.
  - a. Bishop Dr. Wurm of Stuttgart, the speaker of the entire German Evangelical Church (compare further on with II, a), kept in continuous contact with the Catholic Archbishop Gröber of Freiburg (responsible for all of Baden) on vital questions pertaining to the development of the organization. Archbishop Gröber is known, through his statements and speeches, as one of the most courageous leaders in the Catholic Church, a man who has played an outstanding part in rallying together the Catholic forces of resistance.
  - b. Contact was maintained in Bavaria between the well-known Lutheran Bishop Meiser and Cardinal Faulhaber in Munich; these two men and their colleagues are responsible for the Bavarian leading group.
  - c. A corresponding collaboration came into existence for the Rhineland and Westphalia between the leader of the Protestant church in Westphalia, Dr. Koch, and the well-known Catholic Bishop of Münster, Count Galen.
  - d. The central collaboration directives emanating from Berlin were shaped jointly by Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, leader of the ecumenical central office of the German Evangelical Church, and the Catholic Bishop of Berlin, Count Preysing, who is also well-known for his courageous participation in joint church action against the Party and the Government of the Reich.
  - e. Collaboration between Protestant and Catholic representatives of the leading groups in the various districts, who are responsible for the development of the German "Self Help" organization, is accomplished in a similar fashion.

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II. The participation of the German Evangelical Church in the entire "Self-Help" organization is led by:

- a. Bishop Wurm of Stuttgart who, together with the heads of the secret Reich Advisory Council of the German Evangelical Church, has succeeded in rallying to the cause an overwhelming majority (85-90%) of the established Protestant churches and parishes in Germany, and has recruited and guided the application of Christian principles in the resistance movement. In the battle against euthanasia he became well-known, carrying out a joint action for the protection of thousands of medical cases from destruction, as well as for protection of thousands of Non-Aryan Christians. He is also noted for the protection of oppressed populations in occupied territories and for the protection of foreign workers. Evidence of this activity can be found in statements made by him, which are known to the British and American public.
- b. Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, Berlin, who is the head of the oecumenical central office of the German Evangelical Church, which is also the central office for the direction of Group A II. Dr. Gerstenmaier is known for his unusually capable and energetic leadership in the mobilization of the church's resistance forces, and for the development of the entire network of leading groups in the struggle against the Gestapo on behalf of foreign workers, as well as for his participation in liberating and protecting clergymen and leading laymen in the resistance forces of the occupied territories. He maintains extensive contacts with representatives of Christian and socialist labor in the development of the "cell" system. He also maintains close contact with Christian groups in the armed forces and, outside of Germany, with Barnes, Leiper, Temple, Chichester and Oldham.
- c. Rector Grüber, Berlin, known in Germany, the United States, Great Britain, France, Holland and Norway for his extraordinarily courageous intervention in behalf of Non-Aryan Christians. He has outstanding organizational capacities for large scale relief

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action. For almost two years he maintained contact in the concentration camps at Oranienburg and Dachau with captive French, Polish, Czechoslovakian and Dutch clergymen. Above all, he has contacts among the workers, as well as representatives of the "Red Aid" (Rote Hilfe). At present he has emerged as one of the leading spirits representing the church's attitude in the struggle waged by the church resistance forces. On the basis of this he is especially well qualified to handle the central organization of the work to be done by the Central Commission for the provision of material care.

- d. Rector (licentiate) W. Menn, Andernach (Rhineland) is particularly qualified as liaison agent of the Central Commission A, by reason of his extensive contacts with industrial and labor representatives throughout the entire Rhineland and Westphalia. He was formerly the head of the Church Office for Social Work of the Rhenish Protestant Church and was responsible, at the same time, for the oecumenical work and organization within the association of clergymen (Pfarrer-Bruderschaft), of the Rhineland and Westphalia. Since 1929-30 he has been in close contact with all oecumenical activity and especially with Barnes, John Foster Dulles, Leiper and Cavert in the U.S.A., as well as with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Oldham in Great Britain and Prof. Dr. Kramer in Holland.

II. The following are some of the leading personalities in the Central Commission B, for spiritual care within the framework of the German "Self-Help" organization.

- a. Dr. Otto Dibelius, Berlin, is well-known in Germany, as well as on the European Continent and in the Anglo-Saxon Churches, for the extensive services he has rendered in the struggle against the National Socialist regime and its intrusion into the domain of the church, as well as for his close collaboration with leading forces in the resistance movement. On the basis of the distinguished organizational capacities he has shown in rallying the

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best evangelizing forces to the cause, he was entrusted with the management of Central Commission B. In ministerial liaison with other churches, notably with the Lord Bishop of Olschewitz.

- b. Dr. W. Baumbach, Berlin. As head of the service for the spiritual welfare of prisoners of war and internees, he has shown outstanding abilities in mobilizing the forces of the church in spiritual matters and under difficult circumstances. He is known for his courageous intervention in behalf of American, Anglo-German, French, Dutch, Serbian and Russian prisoners of war. He holds a key position in the defense of an all-embracing Christian service by other organizations and churches in Germany for the spiritual welfare of prisoners of war and internees. He has also intervened for the spiritual welfare of foreign workers.

- c. Dr. Thieleke, Stuttgart, is entrusted with the spiritual education of the leading groups in Württemberg and beyond. He has developed a distinguished literary activity in the analysis of National Socialist ideology and has opposed its unpopularity. He has done outstanding work for spiritual welfare in the younger generation, especially among the laboring classes. Because of this and because of his many years of evangelizing activity in all parts of Germany, and the contacts he has thereby established with leading groups in many districts, he has also been chosen as a liaison agent in the Central Commission B.

- d. Dr. Bitten, Stuttgart, has been a liaison for many years between the central leading groups and the resistance movement of the church. He has been extremely valuable in the shaping of a Christian point of view in the public, a point of view which has penetrated to all districts and communities. For this reason he has been entrusted with work of this nature in the Central Commission B.

- e. Dr. H. Lillie, Berlin, is one of the most distinguished evangelists and speakers of the German Evangelical Church. He has done extensive work in the unswerving opposition to the attacks of

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National Socialists on Christian thought and life in all districts of Germany. He maintains excellent relations with all eccumenical activities, especially with Dr. Oldham and the Lord Bishop of Chichester, and with the leading younger generation of Christians in Great Britain. He is also in contact with leading men in the Lutheran Churches of Europe and the U.S.A.

III. The following are included in leading Württemberg and Baden groups.

- a. Dr. W. Collmer, Stuttgart, holds a leading position in the struggle for the settlement of great questions of social import in Württemberg and Baden. Therefore, he is in close collaboration with the representatives of labor and their liaison men in the development of the "cell" system. At present, he also has special contacts with the resistance forces in concentration camps, and the labor liaison agents who are active in this connection. He formerly participated in the collaboration with leading resistance forces of the church and the political world in Holland. He has outstanding organizational and administrative abilities.
- b. Dr. Plappart, industrial representative in Württemberg and Baden. He has done distinguished work in organization and the instruction of leading groups and "cells" in these districts. He enjoys the special confidence of labor.
- c. Oberbahnrat X, (high official in the transport system), Stuttgart. Holds a central position in the entire transport system of Württemberg, Baden and Bavaria.
- d. Dr. W. Hoffmann, Stuttgart. He has performed leading functions in the schooling of correlated leading groups and in the struggle against National Socialist ideology. He is the central representative for the re-formation of the educational system.
- e. Prof. Erik Wolf, Freyburg (Baden). Holds a central position in judicial affairs and government administration. He is noted for his courageous stand as legal counsel of the militant churches, as well as educator of a younger generation of jurists and

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administrative officials who have adopted an uncompromising attitude toward the National Socialist regime, and who have joined the leading groups and "cells" under the direction of the churches. He is in very close contact with President Max Huber of Geneva and Prof. E. Brunner of Zurich.

- IV. The following are included in leading groups in north Germany, especially Hamburg, Bremen, Sleswick-Holstein and Lower Saxony.
- a. Dr. Asmusen, outstanding Hamburg churchman, has a leading position in the management of the collective church initiative undertaken by the German Evangelical Church. He is known for his courageous stand in the opposition to the National Socialist State. He maintains extremely close relations with leading Catholic circles.
  - b. (Licentiate) Hertrich, Hamburg, has shown outstanding ability and leadership in organising matters pertaining to spiritual welfare, particularly in the case of hundreds of thousands of evacuees who have been indoctrinated with an uncompromising collective policy of resistance against a spirit of hatred or a lust for revenge.
  - c. Dr. Steltzer, Sleswick-Holstein, is a distinguished expert on the entire transport system. He holds a central position in the schooling of experts in the administration of leading groups and "cells". He participated in the protective action undertaken in behalf of Bishop Bergrau.
  - d. Rudolf Petersen, Hamburg, is a representative of the leading commercial circles. He has confidential contacts in Anglo-Saxon countries.
  - e. Police-president Schrors, Bremen, holds a key position in the entire administrative and transport system. He has confidential contacts with all circles in the population, including labor.

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Among others, the two following central circles have been formed in Germany since 1938 for the purpose of combating the National Socialist regime. These circles have undertaken the task of organising the totality of resistance forces in Germany.

I. The Circle around Count Helmut Moltke and Count Peter York von Wartenburg \* (Circle A I)

- a. Political attitude toward the outside: Germany can only be capable of existing as part of a unified federative Europe, developed along Christian-social lines. Political attitude toward the interior: after the fall of centralization, a political structure corresponding to the above must be built.
- b. Composition: Officials and workers from Christian and socialist unions, industrialists, agriculturalists, and officers, all of whom are in key positions in the social and economic life of the army, and the governmental and communal administrative machine.
- c. Aim: Preparation of a democratic self-governing administrative body in Germany, which, after the collapse of the National Socialist regime, will be capable of taking over the administration of the country even to the village communities.

II. The circle around Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier (Circle A II)

- a. Political attitude: the same as in Circle A I.
- b. Composition: Church leaders, members of the clergy, and laymen of the German Evangelical Church including every class of the population, especially the laboring classes who, until recently, had not evidenced any interest in the church. This central group is in close contact with representatives and laity of the Catholic Church (and the Catholic population) correspondingly engaged in activities in the same field.
- c. Aim: orientation, within the framework of the church revival, of the entire public and civil life according to Christian principles.

III. Since 1940 there has been a growing fusion of the two central groups of Circle A I and Circle A II. This was brought about especially by the fact

\* As a result of the events on July 20, Count Peter York von Wartenburg was executed.

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that leaders of A II were in a position to bring to the cause results of their extensive mobilization of broad strata of the population against National Socialism in all districts of Germany and particularly the benefits of their extensive relations with labor.

This resulted in a close collaboration for the following purpose: penetration of Germany and Austria by reliable liaison men; formation of leading groups and subordinated "cell" systems in all districts.

Of value in this collaboration was the fact that in the struggle against party and Reich Government, the Evangelical Church, as well as the Catholic Church in Germany had preserved the corporate organization of the church communities in every part of Germany and Austria. On the basis of the preservation of this organization, it has been possible to develop the system of small groups in all districts, even down to individual communities. This system of leading groups and "cells" was organized to provide the services of experts in every domain, such as, the church, government, self-government, educational system, industry and agriculture. These leading groups and "cells" educated broad masses of the people for a realistic opposition to Nazi propaganda. The collaboration of both Circles (A I and A II) and the support of the resistance movement embracing the entire German territory, proved valuable for the execution of large unified actions. For example, the constantly renewed success in obtaining humane treatment for prisoners of war and especially in the action undertaken to save about one million Russian prisoners from extermination during the winter of 1941/42.

Such action saved about 400,000 Non-Aryans of mixed parentage from deportation and saved thousands of hostages and Jews in the occupied territories. It also provided care and support for hundreds of thousands of Dutch, French, Norwegian, Danish and Ukrainian workers.

The particular role played by the churches in this joint action by both Circles is presented in a special report.

IV. With a constant view toward the possible collapse of the Nazi system and the subsequent occupation of the Reich territory, a "Self-Help"

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organization of the German Evangelical Church and the Catholic Church in Germany was prepared in conformity with the aims of Circle A I. It is to be expected that the collapse of the National Socialist system will result in the complete discontinuation of the functions of the central and local Nazi food and transport authorities, for all leading offices of the administrative machine are held by Nazi officials. After the collapse, these officials will, in all probability, no longer be tolerated by the workers, and it must be expected that they will be immediately eliminated. In such a situation the churches will have the only organization embracing the entire German territory and reaching into the most isolated communities of the country. At that moment they alone will be in a position to handle the entire food and food distribution system.

Therefore, a Central Labor Commission (Central Commission A) was formed in the German Evangelical Church under the direction of Bishop Wurm of Stuttgart. Central Commission A is managed by Friedrich v. Bodelschwingh, Bethel, and Rector Gröber, Berlin, for the assumption of the supply system. Central Commission A is supported by the leading groups (mentioned in paragraph 2), who are responsible for the individual districts and who, in turn, will call upon the services of the subordinate "cells" in the communities. As mentioned, these leading groups are composed of especially energetic members of the clergy and of experts among industrialists, workers, officials and professional men. The assumption of the transport system has been prepared with special care. The elements constituting Central Commission A also insure close contact with the secret organization "Red Aid" (Rote Hilfe).

V. Beside Central Commission A for food supply, a further Central Commission to safeguard spiritual welfare and the reorganization of the educational system was organized in close collaboration with the Catholic Church. This is Central Commission B and is managed by Dr. O. Dibelius and Dr. W. Bachmann. Parallel with Central Commission A, Central Commission B has worked in close collaboration with leading groups and "cells" and has

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obtained full support from the established churches and parishes in combating the spiritual disintegration and great mental void which will befall the population after the collapse of Germany. Together with pastoral activities, this will include an all embracing spiritual orientation of broad masses of the German population through sermons, publications, radio broadcasts and all possible personal efforts by Christian forces for the accomplishment of this enormous task. Furthermore, based on the expert knowledge of the leading groups, the reorganization of the educational system will be initiated with a radical purging action which will eliminate all Nazi elements from the teaching body.

The work of both Central Commissions and their organs is undertaken in behalf of all strata of the population, regardless of the church they belong to, and especially in behalf of the millions of foreign workers. Thanks to the churches' efforts, they have their own confidential liaison men among these workers. (see Memorandum on the churches)

VI. In consideration of the expected collapse of the National Socialist regime, and the fact that the Allied military command must be strongly interested in a rapid return to calm and order, and as smooth as possible a resumption of work in German industry and agriculture, the following is hereby proposed:

The establishment of an advisory group attached to the general staff of the Allied occupying forces in Germany. This advisory organ would represent the liaison with the German "Self-Help" organization described in paragraphs 3 and 4. Upon the withdrawal of combat troops, this advisory group would be taken over by the highest echelon of the occupying authorities (Inter-Allied Commission).

The first concern of this mediator board would be to regulate collaboration between the highest Allied occupation authorities and the "Self-Help" organization (as described in I) and its subsequent development, German self-government.

Under no circumstances should the leading organs of the German "Self-Help" organization be regarded by the German population as "Quislings"

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as a result of their close contact with the victorious powers. Therefore, the above-mentioned advisory organ should immediately be represented as a liaison agency between the oecumenical aid society of the World Council of Churches, the "Self-Help" organization of the Roman Catholic Church and, above all, the corresponding American and British aid societies and the German "Self Help" organization. In this manner, immediate collaborative work will be freed from a considerable danger which it would be impossible to overlook. Thus, the work of collaboration will be raised from a purely political form of contact to that of a solitary aid organization composed of the Christian elements recruited by the large churches, elements who have stood together throughout the entire war despite any political differences of opinion.

It may be advisable to include men from the oecumenical aid society of the World Council of Churches and the collective aid society of the Roman Catholic Church in the above-mentioned advisory group. These men could act as advisory liaison men, as their long-standing collaboration with the personalities in the German "Self-Help" organization (I) have made them thoroughly acquainted with the personalities in question.

The "Self-Help" organization, embracing the entire Reich territory and described under I, is the only remaining organization capable of functioning immediately in post-Nazi Germany. Only establishing a collaboration devoid of friction between the provisional occupation authorities and the "Self-Help" organization can chaos be avoided in Germany.

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